The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society

CULTURE AND HERITAGE NUMBER

1956

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OF THE

Quarterly Journal

of the

Mythic Society

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CONTENTS

MESSAGES

From Sriyuts:

	Pages
SIR S. RADHAKRISHNAN ...	iii
K.M. MUNSHI ...	iv
R.R. DIWAKAR ...	v
SIR V.T. KRISHNAMACHARI ...	vi
SIR C.V. RAMAN ...	vii
SIR C.P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR ...	viii
THE RT. REV. N.C. SARGANT ...	ix-xi
D.V. GUNDAPPA ...	xii
N.S. HIRANNAIYA ...	xiii
K.S. CHANDRASEKHARA IYER ...	xiv
K.V. RANGASWAMI IYENGAR ...	xv
DR. V.M. APTE ...	xvi
DR. P.V. KANE ...	xvii
N. LAKSHMINARAYANA RAU ...	xviii
SIR S.P. RAJAGOPALACHARI ...	xix
DR. V. RAGHAVAN ...	xx
T. SIDDALINGAIYA ...	xxi
B.P. WADIA ...	xxii
A.V. RAMANATHAN ...	xxiii-xxv
G.H. KRUMBIEGEL	xxvi-xxviii

ARTICLES

		Pages
Note	...	1
Asoka By THE EDITOR	...	3—42
Bharatiya Culture By K. M. MUNSHI	....	43—59
Basis of Indian Culture—A UNIVERSAL OUTLOOK By K. M. PANIKKAR	...	60—64
Basis of Indian Culture—UNITY IN DIVERSITY By HUMAYUN KABIR	...	65—68
The Yoga of Synthesis in the Bhagavad Gītā By M. RAMAKRISHNA BHAT, M.A.	...	69—82
The Message of the Gītā By K. GURU DUTT	...	83—88
Secularism and the Gītā Argument By MASTI VENKATESA IYENGAR	...	89—92
A Central Asian Study By RAJASEVAPRASAKTA R. N. MIRZA, A.M.I.C.E.	...	93—118
The Study of Anthropology and Its Cultural Value By S. S. SARKAR	...	119—125
Dance, Dancers and Dance Critics of Today By U. S. KRISHNA RAO	...	126—135
Indian Swaraj—Some Reflections By RAJASEVAPRASAKTA NAVARATNA RAMA RAO	...	136—143
A Social Background to Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan By DR. K.N.V.SASTRY, M.A., Ph.D. (LOND.). F.R.HIST. S.	...	144—155
The Ummattūr Chieftaincy By DR.M.AROKIASWAMI, M.A.,Ph.D.	...	156—162
Punnāta Saṁgha By V.P.JAHARAPURKAR,B.A.	...	163—164

The Bangars Page
BY S.SILVA ... 165—169
History of the Organisation and Growth of Departments of the Government of Mysore and Its Archives
BY P.B.RAMACHANDRA RAO,B.A.(Hons.) ... 170—178
The Early Woḍeyars of Mysore and their Cultural Traditions
BY D.S.ACHUTA RAU,M.A. ... 179—194
Two Grants of Kaṇṭhīrava Rāja of Mysore
By Dr.S.SRIKANTHA SASTRI,M.A.,D.Litt. ... 195—210
Paragaon Plates of Kalachuri Ratna Deva II
By K.D.SWAMINATHAN,M.A. ... 211—220
Burhikar Brahmi Inscription
By Dr.D.C.SIRCAR,M.A.,Ph.D. ... 221—224
Maḷa-Nāḍu
By K.S.VAIDYANATHAN,B.A. ... 225—260
The Chronology of Events in the S'ilappadhikāram
By M. RAJARAO,M.A. ... 261—282
Times of S'rī Rāma, Lord Krishna and Bharata Battle
By M.NILAKANTAN ... 283—289
The Meaning of Life According to Buddhism
By RAJADHARMAPRASAKTA A.S.R.CHARI, B.A.,B.L. ... 290—299
Date of S'rī Saṁkarācārya
By S. SRIKANTAYA ... 300—305
Pilleylokācārya
By M. B. NARASIMHA IYENGAR,M.Sc. ... 306—313
The Message of Jesus
BY P.DEVASAHAYAM ... 314—320
The Epoch of Gandhi
BY S. S. ... 321—332

ILLUSTRATIONS

Sri Gaṇēs'a
Sri Sarasvati
His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore
Rev. Fr. A. M. Tabard
As'ōka's Lion Capital—Sarnath
The Rummindei Pillar—Nepal
The Rummindei Inscription—Nepal
Visvarupadarsana
Map Showing Locations of the Ruins of Teshik-Kala, Topra-Kala and Dzanbas-Kala
Ruins Dzanbas-Kala, Topra-Kala and Teshik-Kala
Anikov Silver Plate
Wandering of the North Pole
Shiva in Penance—Parvati Offering Flowers to Siva —POSED BY U. S. KRISHNA RAO AND U. K. CHANDRABHAGA DEVI
Tillana—BY U. S. KRISHNA RAO AND U. K. CHANDRABHAGA DEVI
Burhikar Brahmi Inscription
Buddha Preaching His First Sermon—Sarnath
Sri Samkaracarya and His Disciples
Jesus Christ
Mahatma Gandhi

GANESHA
WARDER OF EVIL

प्रणम्य शिरसा देवं गौरीपुत्रं विनायकं ।
भक्तावासं स्मरेन्नित्यं आयुःकामार्थसिद्धये ॥

With head bowed, let him unceasingly worship in his mind the god Vināyaka, the son of Gaurī,

The refuge of his devotees, for the complete attainment of longevity, amorous desires and wealth.

(*Nārada Purāṇa*)

SARASVATI

GODDESS OF LEARNING

अम्बितमे नदीतमे देवितमे सरस्वति।
अप्रशस्ता इव स्मसि प्रशस्तिं अम्ब न स्कृधि ॥

Motherliest of mothers, noblest of rivers, Godliest of Goddesses! O Sarasvati, we are as of no repute: Mother, give us high renown.

R.V : II-41-16

His Highness
Sir Sri Jaya Chamaraja Wadiyar Bahadur
G.C.S.I., G.B.E.
Patron of The Mythic Society

REVEREND FATHER ANTONY MARY TABARD

Founder—Mythic Society

Messages

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

VICE-PRESIDENT'S SECRETARIAT

Dated New Delhi,

the 23 January, 1956.

DEAR SIR,

I am glad to know that you are bringing out a special Culture and Heritage Number of your quarterly Journal on the 30th instant. I see from the list of contents you sent me that the Special Number is going to be very comprehensive covering various topics of our culture and heritage. I do hope your readers will find it interesting. My best wishes for the success of your endeavours.

Yours faithfully,

S. RADHAKRISHNAN

Rajyapal Shibira
Uttara Pradesha
January 22, 1956.

DEAR SRI SRIKANTAYA,

Your letter of January 19, 1956.

I wish the 'Culture and Heritage Number' of the Mythic Society success. I hope it will bring into relief the common heritage of India.

Yours sincerely,
K. M. MUNSHI

Raj Bhavan
Patna
January 23, 1956.

I welcome the publication of a special Culture and Heritage number by your very well-known Society which has been working in the field of historical and other research.

'Culture' today is a much-used word, but at the same time it is interpreted in a hundred ways. It is used in the narrowest as well as in the broadest sense. In fact, humanity in the present stage (*Homo Sapiens*) of its biological evolution in one and the same. All human culture therefore is one and indivisible. Every advance that human beings, either as individuals or as groups, have registered on the basic pattern of animal life which remains unchanged in the case of other species, is human culture. Its direction is in the attainment of knowledge through senses and intuition, of the external (physical) as well as the internal (spiritual) world, and in the control through such knowledge over both the physical and spiritual forces, with a view to full self-expression and self-fulfilment.

It is expected that the handling of this important subject by such a learned Society would enlighten readers by bringing home to every one that humanity is on the march towards a common goal, however different seemingly might be the paths.

I wish success to the Number.

R. R. DIWAKAR

Planning Commission
New Delhi
January 24, 1956.

I am glad the Mythic Society is publishing a special 'Culture and Heritage' number on the *Sarvodaya Day.*

It is of vital importance that the fundamental ideals underlying India's culture should be understood. These ideals are—the sacredness of the human person and broad-minded tolerance and welcome of not only new ideas but also people from other regions. That these have now been forgotten is seen painfully in what is now taking place in several parts of the country on the proposals of the States Reorganization Commission. The essential point in India's thought is that behind all the diversity that is apparent, there is underlying unity in its culture and that the different languages in India have a common origin and have been enriched by constant contact with one another. At a time when India is engaged in building up a new life for itself, this realization of the fundamental unity of India's culture is most important. I hope the special number will remind the country once again of this great lesson.

V. T. KRISHNAMACHARI

SIR C.V.RAMAN,
F.R.S., N.L.
Director

Raman Research
Institute,
Hebbal Post, Bangalore 6.
24th January 1956.

It has been a great pleasure to me to be a Life-Member of the Mythic Society and to receive and read from time to time its very interesting publications. I must congratulate the Society on the magnificent Special Number which is being got out containing contributions by many of our distinguished countrymen.

C.V.RAMAN

DR. C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR
Vice-Chancellor

Banaras Hindu University
Banaras-5
24th January 1956.

DEAR SIR,

I have received your letter of the 20th January 1956. I am very glad that the Mythic Society is publishing a special 'Culture and Heritage Number'. I wish your venture all success.

I am,
Yours sincerely,
C. P. RAMASWAMI AIYAR

THE CHURCH OF SOUTH INDIA
Diocese of Mysore

Bishop's Office
2, Mission Road,
Bangalore-2
January 24th, 1956

MY DEAR MR. SRIKANTAYA,

I was deeply interested in the contents of the Culture and Heritage Number of the Quarterly Journal which your Society will publish. I believe that all over the world there is a growing interest in what lies underneath and beyond our knowledge of local and national history.

The discovery, in London's business quarter, of a Temple dedicated to Mithras, the Sun God of ancient Iran, whose worship is believed to have come from India, created nation wide interest in the settlements of the Roman legions who brought that worship there, and no school or college is without its archæological society whose members spend part of their holidays digging, often successfully, on ancient sites.

What possibilities for this there may be in India is sugested by a chapter in Sir Mortimer Wheeler's book, ***Still Digging***. In it he tells the story of how in 1945 he took a team of students to Chandravalli near Chitaldrug. After finding pieces of pottery of a Roman

type and while he was searching for the essential Roman coins among the other articles which had been brought in, his eyes suddenly lighted on a little lump of purple oxidization. He sent this to the chemist who was quartered in the field—laboratory nearby, and next day a *denarius* of Tiberius, minted between A.D. 26 and 37 was plain for all to see. The date of the coin exactly matched the evidence of the pottery, even as the pottery of this type which he had first discovered near Pondicherry bore the stamp of the Italian potter and matched the dishes which he had found at Colchester, the settlement of the British Chieftain, known as Old King Cole, whom the Romans conquered.

The description of the Roman coin found at Chandravalli had to me a special interest. A recent book called *Christ and the Caesars* by Ethelbert Stauffer, a Germen scholar, proves that a *denarius* of Tiberius was the coin which Jesus asked the temple preist at Jerusalem to bring him. We remember that they had tried to make him take sides in the bitter controversy between them and the Roman rulers about the payment of the temple tax. It was the same coin to which Jesus pointed and said, " Render unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's, and unto God the things that are God's." In this He was enunciating the principles of non-interference and co-existence which have been dug out of the soil of India's heritage and cultural past and used with such startling effect in the realm of international relations at this present time.

These are some of the thoughts which have been prompted and inspired by the contents of your Special Number and your invitation to write a message for it. My special prayer is that your society may now enter a new and fruitful period in its work of inspiring interest in the culture and heritage of our country—a work which it has already carried on with substantial success for so many years.

With kind regards and best wishes,

Yours sincerely,
NORMAN SARGANT
Bishop in Mysore

GOKHALE INSTITUTE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS

BASAVANGUDI

Bangalore-4,

January 23, 1956

DEAR FRIEND,

What a galaxy of scholars and writers you have assembled to contribute to the Culture Number of your distinguished journal! That is testimony to your high popularity among the learned of our land as well as to the prestige of the Mythic Society. The Mythic Society is among the oldest institutions in this part of India devoted to the study of her ancient history and culture; and it is fitting that the Mythic Society should have thought of a special issue of its Journal to invite attention to the several aspects of India's efforts through the ages to refine and improve man's sense of values in material, moral, social and spiritual spheres of living. Your list of contents is temptingly attractive and I am sure the public look forward to getting reading matter that will last long as a source of knowledge and enlightenment. May the Mythic Society grow stronger and yet stronger to render its valuable services to the country, and may it be given tous to rejoice in the success of your continuous and devoted labours in its cause.

With best regards,

Yours sincerely,

D. V. GUNDAPPA

Secretary.

Bangalore
23-1-1956.

It is a matter of gratification that the Mythic Society is publishing a Special Culture and Heritage Number of its Quarterly Journal on *Sarvodaya Day*.

The Mythic Society has always stood for the spread of enlightened knowledge of our ancient culture and traditions and has done much to rescue from oblivion many of its greatest treasures.

Sarvodaya ideals are peculiarly Indian in outlook embodying the spirit "विश्वबन्धुत्व". It is therefore in the fitness of things that the Society should recognise the concept in this specially appropriate manner. The Society has been rendering a great service in the dissemination of knowledge of our History and Culture. I can only wish it a continued career of useful service.

N. S. HIRANNAYYA
Director of Public Instruction
in Mysore, Bangalore.

Bangalore
23-1-1956.

I extend a hearty welcome, to the projected publication, of the special number of the journal, to be made on the ***Sarvodaya Day***, by the Mythic Society of Bangalore.

A people's beliefs, culture, traditions, and even superstitions, are a part of its evolution. And Mythos is indeed a part of History and as such, deserves full recognition and support from the people, the Government, and the educational institutions in the State, and above all by the University of Mysore.

This event will itself be a fitting introduction to the Society's own Golden Jubilee, as it will then have completed fifty years of steady useful work.

Mr.S.Srikantaya, its indefatigable and learned Secretary, whose ungrudging labours have helped to make the Society what it is—a recognised organ of National Culture—deserves warm appreciation and gratitude from all.

K. S. CHANDRASEKHARA IYER
Retired Chief Judge
High Court of Mysore

K.V.RANGASWAMI AIYANGAR

13, Tughlak Road
New Delhi-2.
24th January 1956.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I have received today your kind letter of the 20th enclosing a copy of the contents of the "Culture and Heritage" number of the Journal of the Society.

The contents show that the number will be admirable. I wish the Mythic Society endless years of usefulness and service to Indian History and Culture.

With kind regards, I am,

Yours sincerely,
K.V.RANGASWAMI

Saugor (*M.P.*).
24-1-1956.

Sincere felicitations on Forty-Six years of literary service to Culture Through Research by the Journal marked by the unique qualities of punctuality and unfallening devotion.

DR. V. M. APTE
Head of the Department of Sanskrit
Saugor University

BOMBAY

The Mythic Society of Bangalore has been doing much work for elucidating our country's past history and culture and I hope that in the years to come it will put forth greater effort in elucidating our beliefs, usages and philosophical ideas, bring the past in close relations with the present and emphasize the changes that must be sought by us for being worthy of our rich heritage and for the continuity of our culture.

26-1-1956. P. V. KANE

884, Wright Town
Jabalpur, M.P.

I am very glad to learn that the MYTHIC SOCIETY is bringing out a special 'Cultural and Heritage' number. I am sure that the society with its rich and hoary traditions will be able to bring out many more such special numbers. My confidence in the ability of the society to do this is backed by my knowledge of the excellent and laudable work that it has been doing for many decades. In fact this society has been holding aloft the torch of Indological Research in South India.

The scholarly journal of the society is not only one of the pioneers in the field of research in Archæology, Art, Epigraphy, History, Literature and Philosophy (to mention just a few of the subjects) but is one of the few journals in India which have consistently maintained a high standard. The articles appearing in the various issues of this magazine have made valuable contributions to the advancement of knowledge in the different departments of Indian thought and civilization.

May the society and its valuable journal live long and continue to foster the cause of Indian Culture and heritage.

N. Lakshminarayan Rao
Retired Government Epigraphist for India.

Rajamantrapravina
SIR S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI

Basavangudi
Bangalore-4
25th January 1956.

I am very glad to learn that a special "Culture and Heritage" number of the Journal of the Mythic Society is to be published on the *Sarvodaya Day.* I feel that it is extremely opportune that, in these days, when the significance and values of our ancient culture are more largely appreciated, here and abroad, the Society should publish a Special Number on various aspects of our ancient culture. From the proposed contents, I am sure that the Special Number would be welcomed not merely by the specialist, but by the general reader as well.

S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI

DR. V. RAGHAVAN
Professor of Sanskrit
University of Madras

24th January 1956.

DEAR SRI SRIKANTAYA,

Your letter of 20-1-1956. I am very glad to know that you are bring out a Special Volume of the Mythic Society Journal inscribed to the " Culture and Heritage " of India, to which the journal has long been dedicated. The contributions cover a wide field and I am sure the volume will serve as a useful source of information for the lay as well as the learned public.

Yours sincerely,
V. RAGHAVAN.

Bangalore
26-1-1956

MY DEAR BROTHER SRIKANTIAH,

I thank you for yours of January 22, 1956 for a message. The idea of the publication thrilled me, with its titles, subject and their authors. The modern world greatly stands in need of understanding this ancient Indian concept of "*Sarvodaya*," especially at the present juncture of her history and your Society's Quarterly Special Number will be doing the greatest service to the nations of the world and also, will remain as a permanant contribution to the wisdom of our complex age.

Grateful to you,

Yours affactionately,
T. SIDDALINGAIYA

Bombay.
26th January 1956

It is good news that the Mythic Society is issuing a special number of its journal on the subject of "Culture and Heritage." May success attend your efforts and bring to the readers correct knowledge! The stream of heritage can and should be utilized by the individual who aspires to become a truly cultured man. Such a man is not a sectarian but a cosmopolitan, a citizen of the world, a lover of the human race. Above distinction of caste and creed, nation and race the cultured man has a noble mind and an enlightened heart. May the India of to-morrow bring to birth such Nobles, true Aryas, for the service of the world at large.

B. P. Wadia

"Ananda"
Visvesvarapuram,
Bangalore-4

I am delighted that the Mythic Society is publishing a Culture and Heritage Number of its Journal on *Sarvodaya Day*. As in several other fields of activity, Maisur blazed the trail in the sphere of indigenous endeavour for the revival of national and regional culture and the study of antiquities. The Mythic Society is the first institution of the kind in India, the Royal Asiatic Society of Bengal and of Bombay having been organised by Occidental Orientalists. Looking over an early number of its Journal, I find that Mr.G.H.Krumbiegel and I share the privilege of survival, by God's grace, among the office-bearers of the Society in its childhood. In its life of well-nigh half a century it has rendered unique service to Karnataka Culture as a single unit. The publication of the Special Number is appropriate and opportune, on the eve of the resurrection of Visala Maisur.

The kindness of the Secretary, Sri S. Srikantaya —who has earned the undying gratitude of all Karnataka for his selfless devotion of over thirty-three years—enables me to add another personal note. As I understand it, the Indian ideal of life is the ***Jivanmukta*** way of life—liberation while alive—and its expression or fruit is Universal Happiness, Love and

Service. Its characteristic is the sublimation of Intellect, Emotion and Will; and its evidence is Transcendence of self. The *Jivanmukta* is one living Unitive life, whether it be Sayujya, Sarupya, or Samipaya—the *Advaita*, *Visistadvaita* or *Dvaita* of Vedanta, according as the Intellect, Emotion or Will is the last to be sublimated. The *dharma* referred to in the Gita declaration:

"स्वल्प मप्यस्य धर्मस्य त्रायते महतो भयात्"

is this Unitive life. This sublimation of Intellect, Emotion or Will—whichever comes first—compels one to accept the entire universe as the *verteré*—return—of *unus*—one—an Evolute (of diversity) of a Single (unity). In the triumphant phraseology of the Seer in Ishavasya Upanishad:

"तत्र को मोहः कः शोक एकत्वमनुपश्यतः—

"There, what is (the occasion for) delusion (exclusive attachment) and what is (the room for) grief, for one who sees one-ness all round?"

The great souls who represent India now as a political unit in world politics—the Rashtrapati and the Prime Minister—have forged foreign policy on this pattern.

From this angle, *Srimad Bhagvad Gita* describes the ways in which Unitive Life expresses itself and not different methods of approach to reach Unitive Life. These expressions vary according as, whether it is the Intellect, Emotion or Will is the last to be sublimated in an individual. The Yoga is Unitive Life—Life in Union. It is not a practice. Yogi is one living the Unitive Life and not one striving for union. The

latter is आरुरुक्ष The Yogi is आरूढ. Yoga sutra is the science evolved by research scholars of yore, for the benefit of आरुरुक्ष's from a study of the different ways in which the life of *Jivanmuktas* expressed itself. But the common feature in all is sublimation of one or more factors, and the dynamic life in society is activated by the factor yet to be sublimated. This common feature in dynamic relations is beautifully enshrined in the maxim :

मैत्री करुणा मुदितो पेक्षाणां सुख दुःख पुण्यापुण्य विषयाणां भावना

" Friendship, mercy, gladness and indifference in regard to subjects (persons who are) happy, unhappy, good and evil respectively " (Svami Vivekananda's Translation).

May Bharata Mata activate all her children to live the life of friendship, mercy, gladness and indifference and to avoid enmity, hatred, envy and vanity.

A. V. RAMANATHAN

Dewan of Bharatpur (*Retired*)

STRAY THOUGHTS ON THE ORIGIN OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

The First issue of the Quarterly Journal (Volume 1, Number 1, October 1909) gives a fair account of the Founding of the Society ; I will however just add a few supplementary notes.

The first meeting in May 1909 mentioned in the Editorial note was held in Mr. F. J. Richards residence and at his invitation

The following Bangalore residents were present :

Reverend Father A. M. TABARD, M.A.,M.R.A.S.
MR. E. W. WETHARELL, A.R.C.S.,F.R.P.S.L.,F.G.S.
MR. F. J. RICHARDS, M.A.,I.C.S.,M.R.A.S.
MR. G. H. KRUMBIEGEL, F.R.H.S.
MR. F.R. SELL, M.A.
MR. S. KRISHNASWAMY AIYANGAR, M.A.,M.R.A.S.,F.R.H.S.

besides some others the names of whom I do not remember.

The aims and objects of the Society were fully explained by Mr. F. J. Richards and Father Tabard and discussed by the meeting. The issue of a Quarterly Journal was agreed upon after full discussion of details connected therewith.

The following gentlemen were then elected towards forming the Council of the Society :

Reverend Father TABARD, M.A.,M.R.A.S.
Chairman

MR. E.W. WETHARELL, A.R.C.S.,F.R.P.S.L.,F.G.S.
General Secretary

MR. F. J. RICHARDS, M.A., I.C.S., M.R.A.S.
Chairman of the Committee

MR. G. H. KRUMBIEGEL, F.R.H.S.
Honorary Treasurer

It was then decided to hold a preliminary meeting in June 1909. At this meeting it was decided to invite important persons of Mysore and all-India as Honorary Members and, as shown in the above quoted First Journal, the Council of the Society was fully completed. By that time the membership had increased to 207, *i.e.* Foundry-members 20, Resident members 91, and Mofussil members 96.

Pending the Society possessing their own home I undertook the storing and distribution of the Journal at my own Residence at the Lal Bagh.

A note to this effect and that subscriptions now due may be sent to Lal Bagh House, put in Volume 1 Number 1 brought such a welcome flow of subscriptions that we were able to provide illustrations for the important articles from the very beginning of the Journal's existence.

Later on another help in that direction came when His Highness the Gaikwar of Baroda (in whose service I had been for twelve years previous to my coming to Mysore) on a journey to England found in the Reading Room of the P.O.Steamer our Journal and His Highness wrote to me at once how interesting he found the Journal and whether I could arrange to send one copy to each of his Libraries in his State and what he should send. I wrote that I would do my best and suggested he might in the meantime send a Donation. He sent, I think, Rs.1,000 and

the Committee appointed him as an Extra Honorary President.

Regarding the question as to why the name "Mythic Society" was chosen I can only refer to the Volumes of 'Myths and Legends' written by various writers and published by Gresham Publishing Company, which also includes "Indian Myths and Legends." It may also probably be that as pointed out by the late Dr.S.Krishnaswamy Aiyangar, one of my colleagues in the early formation of the Society, the word 'Mythic' was selected from out of a number of words as being perhaps the most innocuous from the point of view of service rules, etc. which would debar ladies and gentlemen belonging to certain services from participating in the work of the Society rather rigorously and that authority was pointed out that early Greek usage justified the name *Mythics* for matters connected with the early dawn of history and even pre-history and that was adopted (Volume XXXII, page 120, note). In discussing the object of our Journal both Mr. Richards and Father Tabard may have thought of these Myths in calling the Society "Mythic" and it may also be an inspiration.

As a founder-member it gives me the great pleasure to know that a Special 'Culture and Heritage' number of the Quarterly Journal is published on the *Sarvodaya Day*. I am confident the Society will now usher in a bright period of its activities in attracting savants interested in the Culture and Heritage of India, a stupendous work which the Society has been carrying on all these forty-six years.

G.H.KRUMBIEGEL

NOTE

I am obliged to the several contributors to this *Culture and Heritage Number* of the Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society. I desire to acknowledge our obligations for permission accorded to reprint the Broadcasts from the All-India Radio, on 'The Basis of Indian Culture,' namely, 'A universal Outlook' and 'Unity in Diversity' and also to Sri K.M.Munshi for the extracts from 'Our Greatest Need' in the Bharatiya Vidya Bhavan Series, under 'Bharatiya Culture.'

Our gratitude is also due to the several savants who have sent us messages for publication.

I appreciate the keen interest evinced and the hard work undertaken by the Curator, Sri. R.Hari Rao, in the publication of this number.

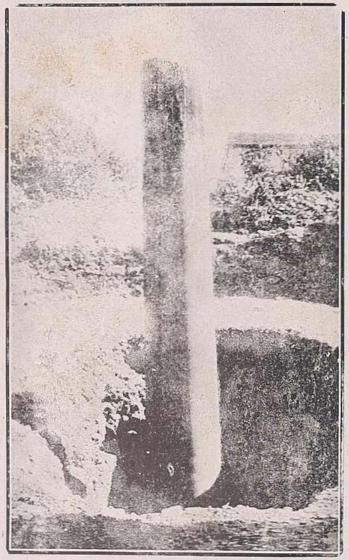
The Modi Power Printing Works and Sri. H.R.Abdul Gaffar deserve our warm thanks for the prompt execution of this work.

S. SRIKANTAYA
Editor

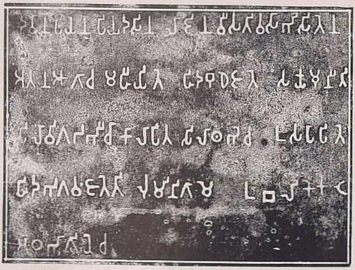
Articles

Asoka's Lion Capital

—Sarnath.



The Rummindei Pillar
Nepal



The Rummindei Inscription
Nepal

ASOKA, DEVANAMPRIYA

BY THE EDITOR

ON AUGUST 24, 1955, President Eisenhower at Philadelphia, U.S.A. said that in the crusade for peace, violations of the rights of men and of nations should not be tolerated: that repression of human beings on a gigantic scale would paralyse constructive efforts: and that human goals could not be reached by a Government of men ruling by decrees, ignoring man as a spiritual being. For it must be remembered that the laws of a state are in fact rooted in moral law reflecting a religious faith that man is created in the image of God and that the energy of the free individual is the most dynamic force in human affairs.

When the Parthians and the Bactrians were on the march, when Pyrrhus had just died and when Hannibal and Scipio were, in the history of the then 'civilized' world, resounding with war drums, here in India was a monarch who had the courage to disarm his troops and rule by moral force alone. More than two thousand years ago, As'ōka the Great, Emperor of India, Beloved of the Gods, said that peace and goodwill among men, obedience to parents, respect and reverence to the teacher, the aged and the elders, love and affection to the young, the weak and the maimed, kindness to all created beings, friendliness to neighbours, gentleness, charity, truth, purity of heart, mind and act, self-control, graciousness, peace of mind and religious toleration should endure as long as the Sun and the Moon. Verily, the name of As'ōka shines like a Pole Star during aeons of time amidst the myriads of kings and emperors who have had their day and ceased to be.

Sources

The sources of our knowledge of this great monarch of piety were, till a century ago, the contemporary records of ambassadors and foreign travellers, Greek and Latin, the impressions and accounts of the Chinese pilgrims and the legends of the Mauryas

contained in Pāli and Sanskrit. With the discovery of the fragments of an inscription of As'ōka on the Mīrath Pillar at Delhi by Reverend Father Tieffenthaller in 1756 and of the key to the As'ōkan script by James Princep about 1837, contemporaneously with that of Rawlinson to the trilingual cuneiform inscription of Behistan, opened a new chapter in Indian history. Edicts of As'ōka have been discovered *in situ* on rocks, on pillars and in caves and in isolated places of his far-flung empire stretching from Peshawar to Mysore and Kathiawar to the coast of the Bay of Bengal and many more are yet to be traced. From these we get a very good account of the noble deeds of As'ōka, though very little of his ancestry or pedigree. European and Indian scholars by their commendable zeal and research have added considerably to the literature on As'ōka and his time and have made it possible to give a fair estimate of Devānāmpriya Priyadars'in of the inscriptions whose identity with As'ōka is no longer doubtful as the edict of As'ōka discovered recently in 1928 at Maski refers to As'ōka by name while in the previous inscriptions the reference was to Devānāmpriya Priyadars'in.

Pre-Mauryan India

As'ōka's Indian empire grew out of Magadha and the establishment of the Mauryan dynasty by Chandragupta, where Buddhism, now a world religion, had its birth in the sixth century B.C.—the twilight of history in Europe. Rājagṛiha was then the capital of Magadha, one of the four important kingdoms of Āryavartha. Bimbasāra, a contemporary of Gautama Buddha, during a remarkably long and successful career as king for fifty-two years and Ajātasatru, his son by a Videha lady of Mithila, Queen Kṣema, extended Magadhan supremacy in Northern India. A Buddhist Council was held at Rājagṛiha about 415 B.C. Marital connections with powerful neighbouring kings cemented bonds of friendship and mutual concord but proved troublesome in cases of succession. From Bimbasāra to Mahānandin's succession to the throne was smeared with the blood of rival claimants. S'iṣunāga, a son of a courtesan by a Licchavi prince, an officer of Magadha called to the throne by the people defeated the Pradyotas of Avanti and thence

began the imperial power of Magadha. In the time of his successor Kākavarman, a staunch Buddhist, the Second Buddhist Council was held at Vais'āli about 347 B.C. He was also called Kālās'ōka. In his time, Pāṭaliputrā which had been previously fortified became the Capital. Bāṇa says in Harṣacarita that Kālās'ōka, the last king of the dynasty, had his throat cut in the neighbourhood of the capital. Mahāpadmananda *alias* Ugrasēna defeated his rivals, perhaps annexing Kaḷinga also to the Magadhan Rāj. (*Cf.* Hathigumpha inscription of Kharavela). He maintained a huge army and ruled for twenty-five years and his eight sons reigned after him for a period of twelve years, the last of whom Dhanananda was defeated and killed by Chandragupta, founder of the Mauryan dynasty.

Mauryas

Imperial Magadha was the first country which stood the onslaught of foreign inroads and kept at bay the formidable forces of the victorious Alexander, King of Macedon. For centuries, Persian and Greco-Bactrian influences had materially affected Indian culture and architecture and sculpture and Alexander's invasion tended to unite hostile and warring Indian princes under one undisputed authority, enabling Chandragupta to establish an empire with the help of his adviser, Kauṭilya.

Chandragupta

Whether Chandragupta was a low born, political adventurer or the son of a Mauryan chieftain who was killed in a petty skirmish, born after his mother—an handsome and accomplished Brāhmin girl from Champa—escaped to Pāṭalipurā, tended by the cowherds and picked up by Kauṭilya and trained by him at Takṣas'ila in the literary arts and in military warfare, or whether he was only a robber chieftain who became the hero of popular romance in later times is not known. The name of the dynasty *Moriya* or *Maurya* is said to have been derived from *Mayūra* (peacock) which gave its name first to the clan and then to the dynasty. It is also evident from the inscriptions of As'ōka that the Mauryān kings were fond of the peacock and its flesh.

Chandragupta is also said to have successfully intrigued with

Alexander against the Nandas and after their defeat, usurped the throne and become king, in B.C.322. He first conquered the Punjab and the neighbouring countries, then the important kingdom of Magadha and gradually extended the Mauryan empire from sea to sea. He defeated Seleukos Nikator in 304 B.C. and concluded a treaty under which the Greek ruler ceded to Chandragupta the satrapies of Aria, Arachosia, Gedrosia and Paropanisadai, comprising modern Herat, Khandahar, Mekran and Kabul which had been conquered by Alexander and gave his daughter in marriage to the Indian ruler, taking in return 500 elephants. With the complete collapse of the Greek adventure in twenty years, the Indian frontier extended on the Northwest to Persia, in the north to the Hindu-kush (Hindukol) and the Sulaiman ranges and India was freed from the foreign yoke and united under the one umbrella of Chandragupta. It is worthy of note that during the millenniums there has been in India an absolute unity in cultural traditions expressed in different ways, forms and languages. To these have been added the science of Government perfected by Chandragupta's able minister, Kauṭilya, in accordance with Rājadharma. First professing the Brāhmanical faith but full of toleration towards other religions, after a successful reign of twenty-four years, Chandragupta is said to have gone with his Jaina teacher Badrabāhu S'rutakēvali on a pilgrimage to the South and ended his days on the Chandragiri Hill at S'ravaṇabelgoḷa in Mysore where the foot-prints of the guru and his inscription as well as the colossal image of Gōmatēśvara form permanent and prominent land-marks. Chandragupta was regarded as a prosperous lord, true to his word and a pious soul. His son Bindusāra reigned for an uneventful period of about twenty-four years from 298-9 to 274 B.C. He was a votary of Brāhmanism and he left a strongly knit, well-conducted, extensive and powerful empire as a legacy to his successor. There was an envoy at his court called Daimachos, sent by Ptolemy Philadelphos of Egypt. The Mauryas were wise and just rulers whose sway had in effect the consent of their people.

Asoka

According to tradition, Aśōka's future conversion through the

instrumentality of an individual representative of the *saṁgha*, his visit to the monastery of Kukkutarāma and his services to the cause of Buddhism by collecting the relics of the Buddha from pre-existing stupas and erecting 84,000 *saṁghas* in Jambudvipa—(whether it be the subcontinent of India or the whole world of man)—with 84,000 Dharmamahāmātras, one in each of them, had been predicted. This teacher was Nyagrodha of the Pāli chronicles, Maudgali Putra Tissya, the greatest known personage of the time under whose guidance As'ōka visited the important holy places sacred to Buddhism and the Buddha (Divyavādana) according to the Pāli tradition, the Sthavira Samudra of Divyavādana, Upagupta son of Gandhika of Magadha. Apparently Upagupta was also known as Sthavira Samudra. The anointment of Priyadarśin would be 218 years after the demise of the Buddha (Divyavādana) or 118 ? years after the session of the Buddhist Council at Pāṭaliputrā. Aśōka's part in the expansion of Buddhism in the world, the appearance of Maudgaliputra Tissya on the scene and his assistance in the reformation of the Buddhist church and in the propagation of Buddhist doctrine are outstanding events.

It may be as Divyavādana says As'ōka's mother was a Brāhmaṇa woman from Champa, doing domestic work as a midwife (barbar woman) whom Bimbasāra married and was according to the Mahāvaṁṣa under the influence of an Ajivaka teacher Janasēna or Pingaḷāvatēs'a. Bindusāra is credited with sixteen wives and one hundred and one sons, Sumana being the eldest, besides several daughters. According to the Mahāvaṁṣa, the name of his mother was Dharma and of his uterine brother Tissya. The birth of As'ōka synchronised with the defeat of Seleukos Nikator and the capture of Indian satrapies which had been lost to the Greeks. As a boy, his time was spent in listening to the tales of chivalry and of valour and later he was devoted to the study of the Vedas and the deeds of the great kings of India. As a crown prince hardly seventeen years of age, he was despatched to quell a disturbance at Takṣas'ila, which his brother was unable to do. Later, he went to Ujjaini, as Viceroy of Avanti. On his way to Avanti, As'ōka married a handsome and accomplished girl, Devi, daughter of a banker at Vidisa and possibly a Rāṣṭriya lady and their

son Mahendra was born at Ujjaini. She was also called Vidisa Mahādevi.

There are conflicting versions regarding As'ōka's succession to the throne. It was peaceful according to one account. The Mahāvaṁṣa describes him as ascending the throne after killing ninety-nine brothers and other relations and five hundred counsellors and burning five hundred women. Both appear greatly exaggerated. It is probable that As'ōka when at Ujjaini in Avanti heard of the trouble at the capital, rushed to Pāṭaliputrā and killing Sumana, occupied the throne. It is significant that As'ōka refers to his brothers in his inscriptions which give no clue to his ancestry: but he is Beloved of the Gods and immersed in piety and in its progress for the welfare of all people in this world and in the next. His sons Kunala and Tivala were born to his wife Kalivaki or Kuruvaki or Padmāvati, also known as Tivalamāta. His crown queen (*patta mahiṣi*) Devi was Asandhimitra or another person. As'ōka and Asandhimitra lived together for thirty years and after her death, Tisyarakṣita became his chief queen. He had a large harem like all eastern potentates. He had four sons, Mahēndra who became a Buddhist monk, Kunala a Viceroy at Takṣas'ila who is said to have become blind owing to the machinations of his step-mother (according to Divyavādana), Jalanka at Kashmir and Vīrasena who usurped Gāndhāra. The existence of a queen by name Tisyarakṣita is regarded as a fake by some. A daughter Cārumati, by a Kṣatriya princess Dēvapāla, accompanied As'ōka on his pilgrimage, became a Buddhist nun and resided at a convent which she built at Pasupatināth a mile or two from Khatmandu, in Nepal.

Sanskrit narratives describe As'ōka as grotesque and ugly, a terror to his people through his agent Chandragirika. The Pāli accounts confirm what is found in As'ōkan records. Fa Hien, Hieun Tsang and It-Sing, the Chinese pilgrims who visited India in the fifth, seventh and eight centuries A.D. respectively have recorded their impressions. There is no evidence of worship at the time of As'oka of the images of the Buddha which came in far later. It-Sing refers to a statue of As'ōka with robes of a monk of a particular pattern but at the time of As'ōka, the reverence shown

to the Buddha was by symbols only—the empty seat, the pair of footprints and the wheel, etc.

Consecration

As'ōka became king in 274 B.C. A couple of years were occupied in the consolidation of his power and strength in his party and in overcoming the intrigues and the opposition to his authority. Thereafter he was consecrated and became a Rāja. He appears to have been anointed as As'ōka first and later as Priyadars'in (Dīpavaṁṣa). Devānāmpriya, generally an honorific was, however, very significant in the case of As'ōka. The state was a secular state and in the fourth year perhaps began As'ōka's leanings towards Buddhism. The Kaḷinga war in the ninth year of his coronation was the only military event of his long and glorious career: and it turned from the path of war and strife to a culminating point in his life.

As'ōka found that the cause of culture suffered in war while conquest by piety far out-weighed a military victory, so called. The conquest of Kaḷinga made a change in the cultural history of India. After the war with Kaḷinga and its subjection, As'ōka returned sick in mind and body, tired and weary. After the Kaḷinga war hearing words of wisdom from his young nephew Nyagrodha, he sent for his teacher then in Nepal in a Buddhist monastery. The teacher who initiated As'ōka was a full-fledged recluse, conversant with the Buddhist canons and he held out no temptation nor was there any coercion. Contact with the teacher created an interest in the life and teachings of Gautama Buddha which had won the hearts and minds of men without arms. He felt mere human intervention was of no avail. Earnest personal effort combined with rectitude of conduct and a consideration for the feelings of others in the relations of man with his fellowmen was necessary for peace and to secure the fruits of religion. As expounded in the Bhagavad Gīta expressing Arjuna's lament, As'ōka felt that the cause of culture suffered in war and a conquest by *dharma* was preferable to military glory. His teacher enjoined on him that earnestness was the way to immortality and that indifference was the way to death, for the earnest do not die but the indolent are like the dead,

Interest in Buddhism

In the eleventh year of As'ōka's reign interest in Buddhism was revived and he resolved to use all his resources in the propagation of the doctrines which opened the gates to heaven. Having been a lay disciple for some years, As'ōka now joined the Buddhist *saṁgha* and became a *Bikku* (Minor Rock Edict I). He abolished hunting and inaugurated tours devoted to works of piety and despatched missionaries abroad to spread the law of piety. The edicts for the spread of the law of *dharma* were promulgated and issued from the thirteenth to the twenty-eighth years of his coronation and broadcast in all the four corners of his vast empire. Barbara caves on the Khalatika Hill were dedicated to the Brāhmanical Ajivakas and later were created offices of Dharmamahāmātras, Superintendents of Morality. By this means, As'ōka by his rescripts on morality won a great moral conquest both in his dominions, in the neighbouring realms, as far as 6,00 leagues where the Greek king Antigonas Gonatas of Macedonia, Magas of Cyrene, and Alexander of Epirus lived, in the realms of the Cōḷas, Pāṇḍyas, Satīyaputras and Ceylon, and among the Yonas (the Yavaṇās, a foreign tribe not necessarily Greek, perhaps the semi-independent tribes of North-Western Frontier of India), the Gāndhāras (the people of the Yusufzai country), Kāmbhōjas (a North-Western tribe), Nābhas, the Bhōjas, Rāṣṭrikas, Piṭenikas (inhabitants of Paithan or the Godavari), Āndhras and Puḷindas (people of the Central Part of the Peninsula), (Kaḷinga Rock Edict). Whether As'ōka constructed 84,000 monasteries as Hieun Tsang says is uncertain and may be doubted but there existed numerous stupas and *saṁgharāmas* and *vihāras* as far south as Anūrādhapura in Ceylon. The rock edicts are found at Shabhazgarhi north of Peshawar, at Girnār in Kathiawar, at Dhauli (Tos'āli) in Orissa and at Brahmagiri in the northern outskirts of Mysore and amongst the semi-independent sub-Himālayan tribes and in Nepal, a part of his empire; and on the east at Tāmaralipti in Bengal and in the Sunderbans. Hieun Tsang mentions having seen three stupas of As'ōka at *Po-lu-sha* (Peshawar), three at Takṣas'ila and four at S'rīnagara (said to have been founded by king As'ōka) in Kashmir and several in Saukūta. The Pilusara stupa at Kapisa was said

to have been one hundred feet high, the glory of Nagarahāra, the old capital of the Jalālābad District, with a smaller one to its south in the Swat Valley.

Law of Piety

As'ōka was both the spiritual and temporal head of the empire. As a spiritual head he developed the law of *dharma*, the idea of piety in his subjects and amongst his neighbours and as king he fulfilled the obligations to his people. Though deeply religious, he was not lacking in personal enjoyment or the pleasures of life. He was a good eater and fond of hunting. For personal enjoyment, he had provided that no state business should intervene in meal time, when he was in the harem or performing religious duties, riding, hunting or in the pleasure garden.

As'ōka, possessed statemanship and ability of a very high order, travelled widely in his dominions and directed his officers to make frequent tours in their charges to promote the welfare of his people and their spiritual benefit. His administration of justice was strict and even personal as occasion demanded or needed. He gave considerable attention to the discharge of his duties as king. Offenders were punished, mischievous neighbours were warned. causes of popular disaffection were removed and wrongs redressed. Prisoners who were condemned to death and other prisoners also at times had a reprieve to think of the other world and to do charitable deeds. Likewise were provisions to remit sentences of aged prisoners or those burdened with large families or overwhelmed with sudden calamities. As'ōka was a friend, philosopher and guide to his officers, whom he encouraged in their good works reminding them of their importance as responsible officers of the State, whom he befriended, admonished and even punished. He was a father to his subjects, he regarded himself as a servant of the state, had a keen sense of his duties, was ever at the call of his country, always mindful of his responsibilities to his people, to the needy, in distress or the fallen.

Care for Living Beings

As'ōka gave considerable encouragement to travellers by

providing shelter, rest-houses, avenue trees on the roads which gave shade and bore fruits, drinking water wells, etc. Whatever his private faith, due honours were accorded to the followers of all religions. Brāhmaṇas and S'ramaṇas were enjoined to dwell in peace and amity everywhere throughout his dominions and his marked tolerance is manifest from his Rock Edict XII, a unique document in the religious history of mankind, well called the Toleration Edict. In it, he venerates persons of all sects, ascetics and householders, by gifts and with various forms of reverence. He values the increase of spiritual strength of the followers of all religions. He deprecates extolling one's own religion to the decrying of the religion of another. He desires suitably honouring persons of other religions. It is really the concord of all religions that is meritorious in the cause and progress of *dharma*.

As'ōka provided ample protection to birds, beasts and fish, afforded medical treatment for all living beings, had game laws enacted for the preservation of wild life and prohibited slaughter of animals and their sacrifice.

Problems of internal administration were closely linked with the Buddhist *dharma*, calculated for the welfare and happiness of his people. Censors of the law of piety preached in assemblies, in town and country and regulations were made to give full effect to royal instructions. As'ōka with his teacher made pilgrimages to the holy places sacred to the memory of the Buddha and erected commemorative pillars.

Tolerant Buddhist

As'ōka was undoubtedly a Buddhist and a very great one : but there was no spread of religious gospel as such : and the edicts promulgated and preached ethical principles and laws of morality. He was not a Jain but as king he treated all religions alike. He was thus a Buddhist of a tolerant and non-exclusive type. What is found in the message of As'ōka engraved on the unforgettable rocks of time is consistent with the teachings of ages—the Vedas and the Upaniṣads. It may well be said that As'ōka's service to fellow men, the discouragement of animal sacrifices and cruelty to animals, insistence on personal and mental purity and spirituality,

inculcating the virtues of trustfulness, compassion, gentleness, thrift, self-control, gratitude, firm devotion and attachment to *dharma* are familiar to *Smṛti* texts, human and practical in nature.

Future Life

As'ōka believed in a future life and was anxious to secure happiness in both the worlds for all. In one of his latest edicts, of the twenty-seventh year, he laid stress on the utmost devotion to *dharma*, watchfulness, obedience to parents and elders, energetic work and dread of evil as needed to secure both this world and the next.

Rule: Dharma

As'ōka's rule as king was regulated and conditioned by *dharma* and it followed generally the principles of Rājadharma outlined in the Mahābhārata and other works on Dharmas'āstra. He was an enlightened ruler and an advanced political thinker who had not in mind a police state but a welfare state entrusted to his care. Arrangements had been made to collect information about the happenings in different parts of the country, to prevent miscarriage of justice, to provide prompt despatch of business, to enforce respect for law and precedent, to afford protection of existing institutions, to the adoption of pacificatory methods in conquered territories and border tribes, to remind people of the sanctions of the state and its strength to enforce law and order but to advise people generally by a resort to methods of persuation. The administration was, however, strong, severe, relentless but tempered with discretion and mercy: for he was aware that the hands of justice kept back would lead to anarchy: and he adopted the mean, as forbearance made for moral strength and right action.

There were Viceroys or Provincial Governors and Divisional Commissioners, Heads of Districts and other officers with sufficiently autonomous powers to carry on the routine administration and there was an Imperial Secretariat at the centre and with several departments. All told, the Government of As'ōka was a cultured form of administration, performing all the ministerial functions through appropriate officers invested with discretion and

freedom in the exercise of their authority but strictly enjoined to promote *dharma* and to educate the people in moral excellence and in the development of character.

King

The Mauryan king, politically, legally and practically was an absolute monarch. He had a council of Ministers to assist him (*Parīṣa*, R.E.VI), comparable to the *Mantri Pariṣad* of the Arthas'āstra (1.15). These were appointed by him and were responsible to him. There was no such thing as responsiveness to popular opinion or government by discussion: but there was no regimentation. The council considered matters referred to it independently of the king, though its opinion was not binding on him (R.E.VI). When it is remembered that the king in India was the upholder of the law as outlined in the *Smṛti* texts, it will follow that the approval of the king as final arbiter in all matters provided a corrective to ministerial action. The form of Government was that of a unitary state, the state policy emanating from the capital (R.E.V.), based on *Dandanīti* (S.R.E.I). As'ōka enjoined on his officers not to be malignant, irascible, cruel or oppressive, not to be indolent and weary of exertion in the performance of their duties. The guiding principle of all human actions was *Sraddhā* or active form of faith and needed *uṭṭhāna* (alertness), *udyama* (energetic effort), *utsāha* (ardour) and *parākrama* (strenuous effort).

The king as the executive head promulgated ordinances, issued orders, gave directions pertaining to state policy and administrative matters through his council. More important than all these is his message to posterity. His message makes an universal appeal and for all time. Outward ceremony is no substitute for inward purity and there is no efficacy in mere rites and ceremonies. Doing good to the whole world is a positive concept and earnest attempts must be made to free people from sin. He preaches against destruction of life, theft, uttering falsehood, drinking intoxicants, unlawful sexual intercourse, eating unseasonable food at night, wearing garlands and perfumes and sleeping on a raised platform.

With him *dharma* was not only a way of life or means for the elevation of human nature but a weapon for conquering the hearts

of men and to bring about an understanding between countries, peoples and nations. He was conscious of the propriety of his work and determined to accomplish it. He erected a defence of peace in the mind of man. Bhārata is one and indivisible, a coherent geographical unit enjoying a common cultural heritage. All men are equal : example is better than precept. May the message of tolerance and gentleness of a mature mind, in the cause of culture, morality and *dharma* contained in the rescripts endure as long as the Sun and the Moon !

The symbol of As'ōka is very properly incorporated in our (Indian) National Flag. Of graceful mien, relieving sorrow and distress to man and beast all around, As'ōka was verily Devānāṁpriya, the Beloved of the Gods, Priyadars'in. His marvellous intellect, reflective mind, fear of public opinion, refinement, dignity and idealism, humane feelings, ambition to secure happiness to all in both the worlds, made him a brave, military leader and secured for him a place in history greater than that of any colossus before or since.

Asoka's Inscriptions

In his inscriptions, which are a landmark in Indian history, As'ōka gives an easily understood account of his acts of piety for the promotion and increase of *dharma* and in his scheme, persons, peoples, kings, officers, places, countries, rocks, pillars, caves, means, methods and the rest are only by the way. The inscriptions of As'ōka are sermons in stone, containing the actual words of the emperor in the Magadhan vernacular, in Pāli, but not in Sanskrit, engraved on huge rocks which arrest attention or on monolithic pillars in important places and prominent localities inculcating ethical principles and a code of moral conduct. These rock edicts form the most peculiar and characteristic monuments of the reign of As'ōka,

The inscriptions are not dated, but are promulgated in the regnal year or years after the coronation or anointment of the emperor.

These imperishable engravings have not rusted through the centuries. Their main features are;

1. Personal regrets and sorrow of the emperor,
2. Rebukes to local officers, reminding them of their duty to the people,
3. Declaration of intention to increase copies of his edicts in different and out-lying parts and proposals to have still more,
4. Fear that his words may not be correctly incised everywhere,
5. Assurance that *dharma* may endure and be followed as long as the Sun and the Moon (Pillar Edict VII engraved twenty-three years after his coronation),
6. Object of introducing *dharma* to future generations (Rock Edict IV),
7. Policy of peace and promoting amity among neighbours and bordering people,
8. Edification and guidance of independent people (Minor Rock Edicts, Siddāpur, Brahmagiri, Jatinga Rāmes'-vara, Màski, Yerragudi, are so located as to give information and guidance of independent neighbours concerning broad ethical principles underlying administrative policy).
9. Rules for the pacification of conquered territory (Rock Edict XIII),
10. Religious toleration (Rock Edict XII). In the edict at Sārnāth monks are rebuked not to encourage schism. In Kausāmbi Mahāmātras are similarly instructed. In Bairat (Virātapura) or Bhabru in Rājāsthana, monks and nuns are told of the seven passages in the Vinaya Pītaka concerning personal purity and spirituality. There is no emphasis on externals.

There are so far discovered from 1756 to 1928 A.C. fourteen Rock Edicts, two Kaḷinga Edicts, Minor Rock Edicts *viz.* Brahmagiri Edict I, Brahmagiri Edict II, the Edicts of Rūpnāth, Bhabra, Maski, Pillar Edicts I to VII, Minor Pillar Edicts at Sārnāth, Kausāmbi, Sāñchi, Queen's Edicts at Lumbini and Nigliva. Cave Edicts — Barbara cave dedications — Nyagrodha, Khalatika Hill and Supriya Caves. Edict at Yerragudi

These corroborate and confirm the narratives in Buddhist chronicles, legends and traditions concerning Aśōka, the first great emperor to become a Buddhist, the account of Chinese pilgrims who had not the secrets of reading the As'ōkan script and give an insight into the foundation of the administrative system of the time which was that of Chandragupta described by Megasthenes and other Greek travellers. His administrative system must have corresponded to the ideal standard expounded in the *Arthas'āstra.*

There is no self-glory in these stone records. They make an appeal to contemporaries and to posterity to follow the great moral truths. They reveal how gradually Aśōka got enlightenment and his marvellous personality developed. They stress on common features of ethics, make repeated exhortations to respect and to be liberal to Brāhmaṇa householders. For a correct estimate of his teachings, a comprehension of the background of life and belief as prevailed in Aśōka's time which is furnished by the Dharmaśāstra is essential. Both desire to emphasise virtues like thrift and avoidance of excessive riches, to make for social peace and security as well as personal uplift and happiness. Rock Edict IX says that while auspicious rites and ceremonies which people perform and have certainly to perform during illness, marriage, birth and before journeys, etc. bear small fruit, the *Dharmamaṅgala* or the ceremonial of piety bears great fruit and includes good treatment of slaves, servants, honour to *gurus*, control of the *prāṇas* and gifts to S'ramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas. So, by father, brother, son, master, friend, acquaintance, even a neighbour should be preached : " This auspicious rite is meritorious and should be performed till the objective is achieved." That is the ceremonial of *Dharmanaṅgala.*

As mentioned above there were edicts (i) for conquered territories, (ii) for borderers, (iii) in the heart of the empire and (iv) addressed to the envoys of tolerance.

Fourteen Rock Edicts of As'ōka are found in some form or other in seven places. (1) At Shahbazgarhi, the site of the ancient city of *Po-lu-sha* of Hiuen Tsang, in the Yusufzai country, forty miles North East of Peshawar and one thousand miles distant

from Pāṭalīputrā (in Kharosti script). The principal inscription, the Toleration Edict (R.X.XII) is on a separate rock. (2) Another copy of the fourteen Rock Edicts (excepting R.E. XIV) is at Mausera in the Hazarabad District, Punjab. The characters are Aramaic-Kharosti on three rocks and special prominence is given to R. E. XII—the Toleration Edict. (3) The third version is at Kalsi in the lower Himālayas on the road from Shahranpur to Chakrate, fifteen miles west from Mussoree (Mausera) at the junction of the rivers Ton and Jumna. This copy agrees with the recension at Mausera but is in Brāhmi characters. (4) The copy at Sopara (Thana District, Bombay) has a few words from R.E. VII. (5) The earliest discovered of the As'ōkan edicts is at Girnar in Kathiawar, one mile from Junagadh. On the same rock is engraved the Rudradāman inscription of 150 A. C. referring to the Sudars'aṅa lake constructed by Chandragupta and improved by As'ōka. (6) Two copies were discovered in Kaḷinga on the East Coast of the Bay of Bengal, one on the Asvatthaman Rock at Dhauli, four miles west by south of Bhuvanēs'vara and another at Junagadh (Samāpā) on the banks of the Riṣikulya river, eighteen miles north-west of Ganjam, engraved on three rocks. The Kaḷinga Edicts are separate. Rock Edicts XI, XII and XIII are omitted and the Borderers and Provincial Edicts are exhibited only here. The Dhauli Edict stands alone engrossed on a prepared rock on a hill amidst an extensive plain and it contains also the Kaḷinga Edicts I and II. On the top of the inscription is the front of an elephant beautifully carved.

The fourteen rock edicts belong to the thirteenth and the fourteenth years of his coronation. The longer inscriptions are different recensions of these and recorded at localities situated in remote parts of the empire. The Rock Edicts comprise the existing versions of the well-known fourteen Rock Edicts and the two separate edicts which the Dhauli and Jaugada versions substitute for Edicts XI to XIII but do not include the Minor Rock Edicts.

Rock Edict I

Edict on Dharma

This Rock Edict is concerned with the sacredness of life. It is an edict on morality.

(i) No animal may be sacrificed here at Pāṭalīputrā (P.E.V). (ii) Tribal feasts in high places are not to be celebrated. The king sees manifold evil in holding feasts ; yet he regards some of them as meritorious. (Cock fights, ram fights, elephant fights, fights of rhinoceroses and two bulls with a horse between yoked together for dragging cars, were common and these were discouraged).

Formerly, each day many thousands of living creatures were slain to make curries in the royal kitchen. But at the time of this edict only two peacocks and one deer were killed daily and the deer not invariably. Even these three animals shall not be slaughtered in future.

Note.—In the regnal years of As'ōka nine to thirteen, two peacocks and one deer were sent to the royal table every day. In the eleventh year As'ōka gave up the pleasures of the chase. After the thirteenth year slaughter of animals for sacrifices and holiday feasts were prohibited. In the twenty-seventh year a detailed code of regulations was issued to protect further the sanctity of animal life. (*Cf.* R. E. I. and VIII. P. E. V and VII. Provisions concerning condemned prisoners P. E. IV and for prompt justice R. E. VI were also made).

Rock Edict II

Provision for Comfort for Men and Animals

Both in conquered countries and in the borders, *e.g.* Cōḷa, Pāṇḍya, Satīyaputra, Keraḷaputa, Tāmbraparni, the regions of the Yavana king Antiochos (B.C.261-246) and of his neighbours, there were two kinds of medical treatment established by As'ōka, *viz.* for human beings and for cattle. Medicinal trees and plants are imported and grown where they are not available. Likewise roots and herbs.

Rock Edict III
Quinquennial Assembly

The fundamental principle of As'ōka's ethics is filial piety. Compare the first maxim of the sacred Chinese Edict. "Pay just regard to filial and fraternal duties, in order to give due importance to the relations of life." Rock Edict III belonging to the thirteenth year of his consecration relates to the quinquennial assembly. Throughout the dominions, the imperial, provincial and local officers known as the *yuktas*, *rajjukas* and *prādesikas* shall set out on tour, throughout their charges, once in five years, for the purposes of proclaiming the following instructions in *dharma* and other business of State: Meritorious is obedience to father and mother, generosity to friends, acquaintances, relatives, Brāhmaṇas and S'ramaṇas; abstention from slaughter of animals and not to injure animals is good; so, too, economy in expenditure, non-accumulation of property and avoiding of disputes.

Rock Edict IV
The Practice of Piety

For Hundreds of years before, slaughter of animals, cruelty to living beings, discourtesy to relatives and discourtesy to S'ramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas have been allowed to increase. But now, on account of the practice of *dharma* by the Beloved of the Gods, there is heard in place of the sound of war drums, the sound of proclamation of *dharma*, exhibitions to the people of *vimānas*, chariots, elephants, illuminations and divine representations.

For the first time after hundreds of years abstention from slaughter of animals and from cruelty to living creatures, respect to elders and relatives, respect to Brāhmaṇas and S'ramaṇas and dutiful regard to mother and father are observed.

The practice of *dharma* has been promoted in this and other ways. The king will even promote it and his sons, grandsons and great-grand-sons will increasingly promote the practice of *dharma* till the end of the *kalpa*; and themselves abiding by *dharma* and good conduct will instruct the people in *dharma* and good conduct. It is most meritorious work and the practice of *dharma* is not

possible for one devoid of good conduct. Let people be unitedly devoted to the increase of *dharma*.

It may be noticed that the progress of Buddhist teaching concerning the practice of *dharma* is compared to the sound of war drums. The Buddhist religious pageant must have been very grand indeed. (*Cf.* FaHien's description—Legge's Travels: Chapter XXVII). The procession of images takes place in the eighth month every year. On a four wheeled car is erected a five tiered bambo *Vimāna*, supported by a central post and adorned and decorated with fine cloth of variegated points and gilded images of angels in different colours and decked with precious stones, placed in gay canopies are a marvellous sight. There are four niches on the four sides with a Buddha seated in each one of them. It is not one such car but very many and no two will be alike. Musicians, songsters, devotees with flowers, lamps burning, etc. make a great festive and gala gathering.

Rock Edict V
Censors of the Law of Piety. Addressed to the People in General

It is very difficult to do a good act and whoso does it accomplishes a very difficult task. I have done many benevolent actions and my sons and their descendants who follow me in doing such during aeons of time will do well and whoso violates even a part of this command will not do well but will be committing sin.

Formerly there were no officers to enforce the laws of *dharma*. In my fourteenth year I have appointed *Dharmamahāmātras*, commissioned to promote the welfare and *dharma* among followers of all religions; to promote the welfare and happiness of the virtuous, the Yavanas, the Kāmbhojas, the Gāndhāras, the Rāṣṭrikas, and Piṭenikas and others on the borders; to promote the welfare and happiness as among servant and master, Brāhmaṇas and the rich, the *anātha* and the aged; to promote the welfare and remove the troubles of those engaged in *dharma*; to prevent unjust imprisonment and loss of life, and for safety and deliverance, giving due consideration to persons with large families or official responsibilities or high-souled. These *Dharmamahāmātras* are engaged in

supervising at Pāṭalīputrā, in all provincial towns, in the inner apartments of my brothers and sisters and other kinsmen. They are devoted to *dharma* and charity. May this purpose endure for long ages and my subjects act accordingly. Members of the royal family were Viceroys or Governors of at least four provincial towns, Takṣas'ila, Ujjaini, Tōs'ali and Suvarṇagiri. (Yōnas=Yavanas; Gāndhāra=Rāṣṭrikas and Piṭenikas, uncertain, perhaps, people of Gujarat-Sourastra and Malva-Sourastra and Vindhya).

Rock Edict VI
Prompt despatch of Business

The edict shows the existence of the institution of official reporters (*Prativedakas*) in the times of Chandragupta and As'ōka and justice was administered by the king.

For a long time past, state business was not attended to at all hours nor reports received. Under the present arrangement during all hours and in all places, whether I am dining or in the lady's apartments, or in the inner apartments, or in the lavatory, or when riding, or in the garden, everywhere, the reporters should report to me the business of the people, I shall attend to it then and there.

And when I issue orders to an officer appointed to make gifts or to an officer appointed for making proclamations or when orders have been made by great officers of the state (*Mahāmātras*) in an emergency, should there be a difference of opinion, or the matter be in debate, it should be reported to me by the council (*pariṣad*) at all times and in all places.

I have ordered thus: I am never completely satisfied with my work of wakefulness or despatch of business. I consider that I must work for the welfare of all people; and the attainment of this is rooted in wakefulness and due despatch of business. There is no other work for me (more important) than doing what is good for the well-being of all people. And I work as aforesaid to see that I discharge my debt to living beings and that I may hereafter gain heaven. May it endure for long!

May my children continue their effort for the welfare of all people! This indeed is most difficult to achieve save by utmost exertion.

Rock Edict VII
Imperfect fulfilment of the Law

Self-mastery, purity of heart, gratitude, fidelity are always possible and excellent and even for the man who is too poor to give largely.

He wishes that everywhere in his dominions members of all religions and sects may reside together and harmoniously. For, all, high and low, desire in common, mastery of the senses and purity of mind however varied their desires and likings may be. Some will attend to the performance of the whole of the law and some, only a part. Even to those who are not in a position to make large gifts, mastery of the senses, purity of mind, gratitude and steadfast devotion are certainly essential.

Rock Edict VIII
Pious Tours

Sometime has passed since Devānāṁpriya (King) went on pleasure tours, for hunting and other similar enjoyments. Priyadarśin, Beloved of the Gods, became well-enlightened in wisdom (*saṁbuddha*) when he had been consecrated ten years. Thereafter, tours inaugurated by him have been *dharmayātras* (tours of piety). In these are performed visits to S'ramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and making gifts to them, visits to elders in wisdom, distribution of gold as alms, visits to the people of rural divisions (*Janapada*), instruction in *dharma*, and discussions and questions on *dharma*. It is his unique good fortune that these give greater pleasure to him than *Vihāra Yatrās*. [Eight-Fold path or steps: (1) Right views, (2) Right feeling, (3) Right words, (4) Right behaviour, (5) Right mode of livelihood, (6) Right exertion, (7) Right memory and (8) Right meditation and tranquillity].

Rock Edict IX
True Ceremonial

People perform various ceremonies on occasions such as sickness, invitation at rites, marriages, birth of children and on the eve of departure on journeys. On this and other similar occasions they observe many auspicious ceremonies (rites) but

mothers of children perform various ceremonies which are petty and meaningless. Such auspicious ceremonies should certainly be performed but they bear small fruit. *Dharmamaṅgala* (the ceremonial of righteousness or piety) bears, however, great fruit. It includes good treatment of slaves and servants, honour to *gurus*, control of the *prāṇas*, and making gifts to S'ramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas. These and other similar acts constitute the ceremonial of righteousness and piety. By father, brother, son, master, friend, acquaintance, or even a neighbour, this should be preached, *viz.* this auspicious rite is meritorious and should be performed till the objective is achieved.

Rock Edict X

True Glory

[It is hard for a rich man to reach the kingdom of heaven.] (*Cf.* Mathew XIX-23.) For utmost exertion and complete renunciation is extraordinarily difficult for those of high degree. Illustrates the difference between true glory, military glory or the glory of conquest.

Priyadars'in does not consider either fame or renown here as of great value in the life hereafter. He desires that people may now hear his service to *dharma* and live in future accordingly. That is the fame he desires. Whatever he makes is all devoted to well-being in after-life. He desires that all people may be saved from the danger of bad living which is meritless. Devotion to well-being and service to *dharma* is most difficult of accomplishment by people whether high or low, save by supreme heroism, sacrificing everything else ; but this is most difficult even to the highly placed.

Rock Edict XI

True Charity

There is no gift that can equal in merit the gift of *dharma*, the distribution of *dharma* and the establishment of *dharma*. From it follow the right treatment of slaves and servants, service to mother and father, gifts to friends, comrades, kinsmen, S'ramaṇas and Brāhmaṇas and abstention from slaughter of animals.

Even by father, by son, by brother, by master, by friend, by comrade, by kinsmen or by neighbour it ought to be said: "This is meritorious. This ought to be done". One acting in this manner secures happiness in this world and endless merit in the other world also is produced by this gift.

Rock Edict XII

Toleration

Priyadars'in reverences all persons of all sects, ascetics and householders, by gifts and with forms of reverence. He does not value either gifts or reverential offerings so much as that of an increase of the spiritual strength of the followers of all religions and this spiritual strength is of many forms. But the one root is the guarding of one's speech so as to avoid the extolling of one's own religion to the denying of the religion of another, or speaking lightly of it without occasion or relevance. As proper occasions arise, persons of other religions should also be honoured suitably. Acting in this manner, one certainly extols his own religionist and also helps persons of other religions. Acting in the contrary manner, one injures one's own religion and also does disservice to the religions of others.

One reverences his own religion and disparages that of another from devotion to one's own religion and to glorify it over all other religions does injure one's own religion more certainly.

It is verily the concord of all religions that is meritorious as persons of other ways of thinking may thereby hear the *dharma* and serve its cause.

He desires that the followers of all religions should be well-versed therein and hold sound and righteous doctrines and that in diverse places those present should state that Devānāṁpriya does not value gifts and reverential offerings so much as the increase in the spiritual strength of the followers of all religions.

For this purpose *Dharmamahāmātras* (Censors of *Dharma*), *Mahāmātras* for women's welfare, Inspectors of cowpens and other officers are engaged. The fruit of these measures is the promotion of one's own religion and the glorification of *dharma*.

Honour all alike without discrimination of sect or creed. Do

not disparage another's and exalt your own religion. Be self-restrained in speech and seek in your own sect the growth of the essence of *dharma.*

Rock Edict XIII
True Conquest: Addressed to His Sons and Grandsons

The Country of Kaḷinga is on the coast of the Bay of Bengal, stretching from the river Mahānadi to the river Kṛṣṇa. The three Kaḷinga kingdoms may be said to comprise Amaravati, Āndhra or Warangal and Kaḷinga proper or Rājahmundry. The Dhauli and Jaugada Edicts are here.

The Kaḷinga country was conquered when Priyadars'in was consecrated eight years. 1,50,000 were carried away as captives, and one hundred thousand slain: many times that number died. After that, the Kaḷingas being now secure, the king is devoted to *Dharmapālana* (protection of the *dharma*), *Dharmakarma* (action according to *dharma*) and *Dharmānusiṣṭi* (imparting instruction in *dharma*),

He has remorse now because of the thought that the conquest is no conquest, for there was killing, death or banishment of the people in such a conquest. All this is keenly felt by him with profound sorrow and regret. But what he considers worse still is that there dwell in that country Brāhmaṇas, S'ramaṇas and followers of other religions and householders who have the duty of rendering due service to elders, due service to mother and father and due service to *gurus* (teachers), of showing proper courtesy to friends, comrades, companions and relatives, as also to slaves and servants, and firm devotion to *dharma.* To these, injury or death or deportation of beloved relations may happen in the war. The friends, comrades, companions and relatives who still retain undiminished affection to those affected by the war, feel greatly pained by the calamity that befall them. This may befall all men and is considered deplorable by the Beloved of the Gods.

There is no part of the world where groups of officers under my orders do not exist. Nor is there any part of the country whether it be the Yavanas, Brāhmaṇas or S'ramaṇas—where there is any individual who is not attached to one form of religion or

another. Now even the loss of a hundredth or even a thousandth part of all the lives that were killed or died or carried away captive at the time the Kaḷingas were conquered is considered deplorable by the king. He considers that even he who wrongs him is fit to be forgiven of wrongs that can be forgiven. And even the forest inhabitants included in his dominions, who submit, he pacifies and converts by kindly methods, duly informing them of his power to punish them inspite of his compassion, so that they may feel ashamed of their past conduct and not be killed. For, he desires that all beings should be left unhurt, should have self-control, have equal (impartial) treatment and should lead happy lives.

To him, *dharma vijaya* is the most important conquest. And he has made this conquest repeatedly, here among all the tribes living on the borders of his territories, in the country of Antiyoka (Antiochos Theos of Syria—B.C.261-246), the Yavana king living 800 *yōjanas* away and among four other kings living beyond his territories such as Turamaya (Ptolemy II Philadelphos of Egypt—B.C. 285-247), Antikona (Antigonus Gonatus of Macedonia, B.C.276-239), Maga (Magas of Cyrene—B. C. 300-250) and Alikasundara (Alexander of Epirus—B.C. 272-255 or Alexander of Cornith—B.C. 252-244); and in the south, the Cōḷas, the Pāṇḍyas and the Tāmbraparniyas; so also here in the king's territories, among the Yavanas and Kāmbhōjas, the Nābhakas and the Nābhapanktis among the Bhōjas (Bhōja Piṭenikas like Rāṣṭrika Piṭenikas?), The Piṭenikas, (inhabitants of the Paithan or the Godavari), Āndhras, and Puḷindas (of the central part of the peninsula), in all these places, people conform to his instruction in *dharma*. People even in those countries where his envoys have not reached, having heard of the conduct of *dharma* by Devānāṁpriya, his method of ordinances and instruction in *dharma* follow it and will follow it.

What has been obtained by this conquest creates satisfaction and affection; and this affection is firmly established as it is won by conquest of *dharma*. But this satisfaction is comparatively little as he attaches the greatest value to the fruits of the other world.

The purpose of this rescript is that my sons and great-grandsons who will hear about my new conquests should not consider

that further conquest is to be undertaken. If there has to be a conquest, through weapon of war, let them take pleasure after their victory in peace (*s'ānti*), and light, corrective measures and they should consider that the only true conquest is conquest by *dharma*. This is good for all in this world and in the next. Let all their devotion be in the pleasure of exertion. For this is good for life in this world and in the next.

Rock Edict XIV
Epilogue

Some are abridged, some are of the middle order, some are inscribed in full. The whole is not suited to all places. A wide country has been conquered and much has been inscribed. I propose to have still more constantly. Many have been repeated for the sweetness of the teachings and in order to appeal to all to follow them. Errors there are in engraving due to the mistake of the scribe.

Kalinga Edict I
Addressed to Chief Executive Officers and City Judicial Officers of Tosali (Dhauli)

You are placed in charge of and over the welfare of thousands of lives. Let us win the affection of all good men. All people are my children and should be provided with comfort and enjoyment as such in both the worlds. Although the laws are well laid down, either my desires or the significance of the laws may not be well or fully understood. An individual who undergoes imprisonment or suffering by some accident may see the end of such imprisonment and many similarly placed continue to suffer. Strive for the middle path. It is not possible for those who are slaves of envy, non-exertion, harshness, hurry, want of practice, sloth and undue weariness. Avoid them. Steady action and acting without haste are essential. Rise to the level required. Be up, merry and advancing.

I preach faith in my instructions, it is fruitful to have it and act; otherwise, you serve neither heaven nor me.

Read this on *Tiṣyanakṣatra* (*i.e. Puṣyanakṣatra*) days.

Execute the laws properly, avoid oppression and suffering of the people.

To uphold *dharma*, I shall send once in every five years, a class of officers who are not harsh nor cruel but of a gentle disposition who will conform to my instructions. My son at Ujjaini shall send similar officers once in three years ; so also from Takṣas'ila ; and state officers on tour will attend to this along with their other work.

Kalinga Edict II

Addressed to the Mahamatras at Samapa (Jaugada)

Whenever I see anything significant, I desire to translate it into action by proper means. To achieve it, I instruct you what I think.

All people are my children and like them should be fully provided with comfort and enjoyment in both the worlds. I desire it on behalf of all my people. Towards my borderers who are unconquered and who may not know exactly my disposition towards them, tell them my desires : "They shall not be afraid of me ; Let them feel confident that they need expect only happiness from me and not misery, I will forgive their faults that can be forgiven." Induce them to practice *dharma* for my sake and thereby attain happiness in both the worlds.

By your informing them of my resolution and vow, my debt to them will be discharged. The borderers should be comforted and consoled and inspired with the idea that the king is like their father and cares for their welfare as much as he cares for himself and that they too are to him like his children.

This unshakable resolve to instruct and communicate this will be provided in instructions to my officers duly appointed for the purpose throughout the state. You are competent to inspire confidence in the borderers and ensure them their welfare and happiness in this world and in the next. By acting thus you will attain heaven and discharge your debt to me.

This should be listened once in four months, on *Tiṣya* days or between *Tiṣyas* and whenever occasions arise it may be heard peacefully even by an individual person. You will thus be engaging yourself in discharging my command.

Minor Rock Edicts

For Edification and Guidance of Independent Peoples
Policy of Peace and Propounding Amity Among Neighbours

The Minor Rock Edicts, of the eighteenth regnal year of As'ōka, present a single short edict in variant forms, to which a second still shorter Edict, a summary of the Buddhist moral law is added in the Brahmagiri, Siddāpura and Jatinga Rāmēs'vara copies only. These are scattered as widely as the Rock Edicts themselves, *E.G.* in Bairat, forty-two miles from Jaipur in the Jaipur District in Rajaputana; Rūpnāth in the Jubbalpore District in the Central Provinces; Sahasram in the Shahabad District, Bihar; Siddāpura, Brahmagiri and Jatinga Rāmēs'vara in the north of Mysore; Maski in Hyderabad, perhaps, the Suvarṇagiri of the Edicts, called in later times as Piriyamosangi, the capital of the Cāḷukyan ruler Jagadekamalla; Palkigandu on a hundred foot hill on the banks of Hirehalla, a tributary of the river Tungabhadra, near Kopbal in Hyderabad and at Gavimatt closeby.

Brahmagiri, Siddapura and Jattinga Ramesvara Edicts

The Brahmagiri and Siddāpura Edicts are duplicates of each other and the Jatinga Rāmēs'vara minor Rock Edict is another version of the same. These correspond to the three new edicts of Sahasram, Rūpnāth and Bairat (*Cf.* Pillar Edict VII and Rock Edicts III, IV and XI in the southern alphabet).

Brahmagiri I
The Fruit of Exertion

By the command-words of the prince at Suvarṇagiri (perhaps capital of the southern country belonging to As'ōka, Maski, where vestiges of gold mines exist) and of his *Mahāmātras*, the *Mahāmātras* at Isila (Rṣilā, near Siddāpura?) are addressed, after performance of health greetings:

I have been a lay disciple (*upāsaka*) for over two years and a half (by now); but I did not progress well for a year. But, since I joined the order (*saṁgha*) over a year ago, I have been progressing well in the path of *dharma*. Men in Jaṁbūdvīpa, who

were till now unmingled, have now been mingled with the gods. This is certainly the fruit of my exertion. By force of exertion not only the great ones but even the smallest can achieve this ideal of heaven by bliss. So, let all exert themselves to these ends and let my border people understand and may this spirit of exertion endure for ever. While on tour this rescript has been proclaimed 256 times. (Is it 256 nights after the beginning of the journey by As'ōka or 256 years after the *mahāpari nibbana* of the Buddha? As'ōka's predecessors also had left stone inscriptions recording their work but they are so far untraced. This version is found also at Sahasram, •Bairat, Maski, Yerraguḍi, Siddāpura, Brahmagiri, Jatinga Rāmēs'vara, Gavimutt and Palkigandu).

Brahmagiri Edict II
Summary of the Law of Piety

The father and mother must be served; and the supreme value and sacredness of life should be firmly strengthened. These virtuous qualities should be practised and spread. So teacher must be reverenced by the disciple; and in families, fitting courtesy should be shown to relations. This is the nature of ancient *dharma* and is conducive to long life. This is so and must be acted upon accordingly. Engraved in Prākrit by Capaḍa the scribe. (This inscription is found only at Brahmagiri, Jatinga Rāmēs'vara and Yerraguḍi).

Rupnath Edict

This is a Pillar Edict issued when the emperor was on tour for 256 days and nights. See Brahmagiri Edict I.

Bhabra Edict

The Bhabra Edict is a class by itself. It was discovered at Bairat in 1837. Issued perhaps in the eighteenth year of the king. "All that is said by Buddha is well said." Here is an outspoken avowal of As'ōka's devotion to Buddhism.

Priyadars'in of Magadha conveys his reverence to the *saṁgha* (Buddhist clergy) and wishes for absence of obstacles and good health to it.

The extent of our respect for the Buddha, the *dharma* and *saṁgha* is known to you. Whatever has been spoken by Bhagavan Buddha have been well spoken and of those whatever I have seen as specially significant *dharma* and worthy of endurance for ages I should propagate. These are the texts of *dharma*.

The exaltation of *Vinaya* (discipline) (*Vinaya Samukasa*), *Āryavamṣa* (Āryan Race), the supernatural powers of the Āryas,

Anāgata bhayāni, fears of that which have not happened, *i.e.* of what may happen,

Munigātha (the song of the sage or hermit),

Mauneya sūtra (on saintly life), and

Rahulavada (spoken by the venerable Buddha with reference to false speeches).

It is my desire that monks and nuns should hear these holy texts in large numbers, retain them in their minds and as also the lay disciple and women.

Maski Edict

This is the same as Brahmagiri Rock Edict I (1928. *A.S.I.* for 1928-29).

This is a proclamation of Devānāmpriya As'ōka. The gods were formerly not mixing with men but now they mingle with men. This ideal can be achieved even by the humbly placed person by following the path of *dharma* and it is incorrect to hold that the highly placed alone can achieve this ideal. Both the humbly placed and the highly placed are to be told thus: If you act thus, this matter will become prosperous, everlasting and thus increase *dharma* two and a half times.

Yerragudi Edict
Rock Edict II

Rajjukas should carry out the orders of the king and direct the *Rāṣṭrikas* in rural divisions to do likewise. Filial piety etc. and virtues of *dharma* are to be practised, going out on elephants while Brāhmaṇas go on vehicles to issue them to the *Kāruṇakas*, people with compassionate disposition.

Pillar Edicts of As'ōka

The Pillars which contain the edicts are magnificent specimens of As'ōkan art, monolithic pillars on a gigantic scale. Two at Sāñchi, in Bhopal, Central India, were said to be of forty-five feet and forty feet in height, respectively. The pillar at Bakhīra near Bastar in the Muzaffarpur District was said to be thirty-two feet high, with a lion seated on its haunches. Those at Lauriya Nandangarh, thirty-two feet high, and at Rāmpūrva in the Champaran District have a row of geese pecking their food. In the Allahabad Pillar is contained a graceful scroll of alternating lotus and honey-suckle. The two As'ōkan pillars at Delhi were got from Topra in Ambala and from Meerut by Ferozshah in 1356 A.D. Topra contains Pillar Edict VII. The Chinese pilgrim FaHien who travelled in India between 399-414 A.D. saw three As'ōkan pillars, two at Pāṭalīputrā and one at Sankasya Hieun Tsang who came later refers to sixteen such of which Bakhīra and Rumminīdei are identified; and Niglīva may be the third. Two pillars are mentioned to have been seventy feet high, believed to be buried, one surmounted by the figure of an ox and the other by a wheel, which stood at the entrance of the famous Jetāwana Monastery near Srāvasti in a Nepalese forest. Nine pillars bearing inscriptions of As'ōka are known to exist, not referred to by Chinese pilgrims, except the Rumminīdei and the Niglīva ones. These are;

Delhi-Topra, at Firozabad near Delhi containing Pillar Edicts I-VII complete. Forty-two feet seven inches high,

Delhi-Meerut, Pillar Edicts I-V,

Allahabad, brought by Akbar from Kausāmbi. Pillar Edicts I-VI, also Queen's Edict and Kausāmbi Edict. Thirty-six feet six inches high,

Lauriya-Nandangarh, Champaran. North Bihar. Pillar Edicts I-VI. Thirty-two feet nine inches high. Lion Capital,

Rāmpūrva, Champaran, North Bihar. Lion Capital in perfect condition. Forty-five feet high,

Sāñchi—A version of Kausāmbi in Central India,

Niglīva in Nepal,

Rumminīdei in Nepal, absolutely perfect, and

The Queen's Edict on the Allahabad Kausāmbi Pillar.

As ordered by Devānāṁpriya, the *Mahāmātras* everywhere are informed that the mango topes, *ārāmas*, houses for charity etc. gifted by his second Queen, Karuvaki, mother of Tivala, as desired by her shall be in her name. In the Sārnāth Pillar inscription, it is said that disrupters of the *saṁgha* are to be disgraced. A copy of the inscription should be kept as a permanent record in the places with another copy in the possession of the *upāsakas*. On lent days the *Mahāmātras* should read and understand what is contained in the inscription and increase friendship and *dharma* and in food, etc.

In the Sāñchī inscription Devānāṁpriya ordains that the *saṁgha* of *Bhikkus* and nuns should continue united for posterity and as long as the Sun and the Moon, without disruption.

The cave inscriptions are of the thirteenth and the twentieth years and relate to the bestowal of caves on the *Ājīvakas*, a sect of Vaiṣṇavas devoted to Nārāyaṇa, a form of Viṣṇu.

Banyan tree cave or the *Nyagrōdha* cave (thirteenth year).

Khalatika Hill (thirteenth year).

Khalatika Hill, Supriya cave, twentieth year as a shelter in the rainy season.

As'ōka's grandson gave three more caves in the Nagārjuni Hill. Das'aratha was consecrated as king after Devānāṁpriya, and he dedicated three caves,

Vahiyaka,
Gopikā, and
Vaḍatikā,
} as a gift for residential purposes during the rainy season to the venerable *Ājīvakas*,

Pillar Inscriptions

The Nepalese Terai Pillar inscriptions are of the twenty-first year of As'ōka's conversion, the Rumminīdei (Padavia) pillar being in commemoration of his visit to the birth-place of S'ākyamuni, Gautama Buddha. The other one, the Niglīva pillar was enlarged in his fifteenth (regnal) year. He came again in person, in the same year as to Rumminīdei, both of which are only thirteen miles apart, and made reverences to Kanakamuni (Konakāmana); and set up a stone pillar. At Rumminīdei a stone wall was

constructed and a stone pillar also erected as being the birth-place of the Buddha and the village of Rukmini was declared tax-free. Niglīva stupa was in honour of the enlightened Kanakamuni, raised for the second time in the fifteenth regnal year and a personal visit was made and a pillar was erected in the twenty-first year.

The most outstanding of all are, however, the Pillar Edicts, seven in number and belonging to the twenty-seventh and the twenty-eighth years of his reign. (*Cf.* P. E. IV. V & VI).

Pillar Edict I
Edict on Dharma

As'ōka's principles of Government were to increase and to continue the desire of and love for *dharma* in order to gain happiness in this world and in the next by utmost devotion to it : and to lead people in the right way to obtain it, and to reclaim the unsteady utmost examination, most devoted service, utmost fear of sin and utmost enthusiasm for *dharma* were needed. All officers in the provinces and borders were directed to act by applying the rule in administration : protection, action and disposal, securing of happiness and to be guarded in speech, according to *dharma*.

Pillar Edict II
Royal Example

The law of *dharma* is good. It is avoidance of sin, performance of meritorious actions (*Cf.* R. E. XI); compassion, liberality, truthfulness and purity. The gift of spiritual union I have given in manifold ways, to men, cattle, birds, creatures of water (*Cf.* R. E. V.), etc. and many other good deeds. To follow the practice of *dharma* is meritorious.

Pillar Edict III
Self-Examination

Man sees his good actions and says he has done well but not his evil deeds and it is most difficult to recognise. He should realise that fierceness, harshness, anger, pride, jealousy etc. are sinful and should be avoided in speech. To avoid them will avail in both the worlds.

Pillar Edict IV

Power and duties of Commissioners (Rajjukas)

Rajjukas (King's representatives) are commissioned to rule over several hundreds of thousands of people and mete out rewards or punishments, in order that men confidently, fearlessly and unselfishly perform their duties, bestow welfare and happiness to the country and people, and act kindly towards them.

The *Rajjukas* will know and give what is good to the people, understand their woes and troubles shape their conduct and exhort them to act according to law to ensure happiness in both the worlds. They will please me by executing my commands. My agents (*Puruṣas*) will also serve who know my intentions and who instruct the people in them to enable the *Rajjukas* to discharge their duties properly.

Like an intelligent nurse to a child, *Rajjukas* will look after the welfare of my people.

Rajjukas are vested with full discretion to ensure equality of treatment in legal proceedings and in the award of punishments. Condemned criminals shall have three days' respite to enable relatives to appeal for mercy, or making gifts or fasting to obtain benefit in the other world. All this for the increase of *dharma*.

Pillar Edict V

Regulation Restricting Slaughter and Mutilation of Animals

The slaughter of a number of creatures, twenty-two of them named, is prohibited and also all quadrupeds which are neither utilized for food nor are eaten. A she-goat or she-pig, either pregnant or with milk or young ones under six months, cocks shall not be caponed. Husks with living creatures, shall not be burnt. No unnecessary forest shall be set on fire. One living being is not to fed on the sacrifice of another. No killing or selling of fish on certain specified days or on days of fast. Likewise, no branding of horses and elephants. The release of prisoners has been ordered twenty-five times during the twenty-six years of rule.

Pillar Edict VI

The Necessity in all Sects for Personal Devotion

(*Cf.* R. E. III and IV)

I got the Edicts on *dharma* (R.E.I.—XIV) inscribed in my thirteenth year, to watch and see progress made for the welfare and happiness of my people : for the good of my relatives and of those who are far and near : to see what good can be done to whom.

Members of all religions have been revered by me with equal honour but to visit them personally is a most important duty.

Pillar Edict VII

Royal Measures for the Propagation of the Law of *Dharma* (Piety)

In this edict, As'ōka sums up all measures hitherto taken for the propagation of *dharma*. This is found only in the Delhi-Topra Pillar. It does not appear to have been inscribed on other pillars.

There were eight measures to propagate *dharma*, *viz.* sermons, inscribed pillars, arrangements for comfort of man and beast, institutions of censors, institution of royal almoner's department, the king's personal example, detailed pious regulations and encouragement of meditation on principles.

As'ōka sums up all the other measures taken by him to propagate *dharma*.

1. Appointment of functionaries in charge of districts and provinces to instruct the people,
2. Putting up of pillars on *dharma* and the appointment of special ministers at the court to superintend the propagation of *dharma*,
3. Planting trees for shade, digging of wells at short intervals along the road,
4. Appointment of special ministers to superintend charities to both householders and wanderers and to regulate the affairs of the order and of other sects having jurisdiction, apart from the ordinary magistrates,
5. Appointment of these and other officers to superintend the charities of the Queen and their children,

These positive regulations are of small account compared with the change they have brought about. Personal example is inscribed in Pillar Edict VI.

In the past there were kings who did desire to increase the devotion to *dharma* among the people but the growth was not in proportion. So I thought that if the people heard the precepts of the *dharma* they may elevate themselves and increased *dharma* may result. Hence I have caused sermons to be preached and instructions in *dharma* to be imparted in various ways. My officers will expound and spread the *dharma* to the people in their charge and the *Rajjukas* who look after the welfare of hundreds of thousands of people will do likewise.

The pillars on *dharma* have been erected, officers appointed, precepts duly prescribed by me for the spread of *dharma*.

Dharmamāhāmatras are now engaged in looking after the welfare of the people and in doing kindly acts in many ways. They are engaged among the hermits, the householders, and among all religionists. They are also engaged in looking after the affairs of the *saṁgha*, the Brāhmaṇas, the *Ājīvakas* the *Nigranthas*, among all the various religionists. They, each one of them, do their work enthusiastically and with special care. These and other high officers who look after the royal charities and of my queens and other members of my household indicate the several opportunities of charity in Pāṭaliputrā and throughout the empire. They are also engaged in supervising the charities of my sons, and of the sons of my queens for the performance of these noble deeds according to *dharma* and in conformity with it. Thus *dharma* is increased by performing acts of compassion, charity, truthfulness, purity, happiness and saintliness.

But by my people conforming to meritorious acts, *dharma* has increased and will increase devotion in the service to mother and father, elders, *gurus*, the aged, proper treatment to Brāhmaṇas, ascetics, the disheartened, the poor, slaves and servants.

Increase in *dharma* is due to disciplinary regulations of *dharma* and deep meditation, the latter superior of the two. My regulations of *dharma* prohibit slaughter of (named) animals, etc. but

meditation is more important. By increase in *dharma* the people abstain from injuring living beings.

May *dharma* increase!

Conclusion

In the above are summarised (i) the fourteen Rock Edicts containing seven recensions, (ii) The Kaḷinga Edicts at Dhauli and Jaugada, (iii) Minor Rock Edicts containing four recensions of the first edition and in three, copies of the second edition, (iv) the Bhabara addressed to the Buddhist clergy in Magadha, (v) Three cave inscriptions near Bodha Gaya, in favour of the Brāhmaṇa *Ājīvakas*, (vi) Two Terai inscriptions on the occasion of a visit to Buddhist places, at Niglīva and Rumminīdei, (vii) Seven Pillar inscriptions containing six recensions and (viii) supplementary Pillar Edicts—The Queen's Edict, the Kausāmbi Edict or the Allahabad Pillar Edict, a variant of the edict on the Sāñchi Pillar. The number of distinct documents is thirty-four, in Prākrit and Magadhi. They present an elucidation of the numerous problems confronting the history of Indian civilization and the seven passages of As'ōka, being collected doctrines in written form.

This message of As'ōka, endeavouring by love and kindness to win the hearts and minds of men, exhorting us to tolerance and to work for the welfare of all, makes a universal appeal for all time. In it will be found what has been taught from the beginning of the creation, what is oft repeated by the sages and also the lofty teachings of the Buddha proclaimed from the housetops and in street corners. War is a set-back to human progress and an injury to cultural effort. A socio-moral order based on *dharma* elevates man in his present existence and he gets heavenly joy in the other world. It is a dynamic of conduct, insisting on toleration, *ahimsa* and good neighbourliness.

As'ōka, with whom doing good to the whole world was a positive concept, enjoined on his officers by earnest efforts to make people free from inclinations to sin, to attempt to obtain the good and happiness of both worlds, to grow in piety and duty and elevate themselves. He placed a high value on the religious and cultural side of man's life, inculcated ethical, rational, moral principles

in his own territories, in the neighbouring tracts and in foreign parts, through missionaries, officers of the law of piety and edicts and most of all by his own personal example. He was a father to his people, all were equal and were treated alike. It was no utopia he sought to create nor was he a cranky moralist but a practical reformer interested in the happiness and well-being of his subjects. After the war with Kaḷinga and its annexation in the ninth year of his coronation, remorse set in, there was a change of heart and he became a lay *upāsaka* without showing much zeal for two and a half years. Then, in the eleventh year, he joined the Buddhist *saṁgha*, making public his faith in Buddhism, despatched missionaries for propagation of the religion to all parts of the world and disseminated humane principles in governance and to ensure the welfare of his people. The edicts bear out in ample measure the steps which he undertook to increase *dharma* amongst his people. They contain instructions to contemporaries, to future generations and to posterity to lead an humble, honest and simple life in the great task-master's eye. They relate to abolition of animal sacrifices and of the pleasures of the chase, to prompt justice being administered to principles of government and decentralisation of powers, to supervision and control and centralisation of authority, to toleration and religious concord, to the strength of legal sanctions and military authority to ensure law and order while employing moral persuation to secure the same, to provisions for maintenance and protection of existing institutions, to ensure respect to parents, elders, teachers, the aged and the like and equal treatment as between master and servant or the slave. These must have continued long after the twenty-eighth year of his reign on to his ripe old age and upto his retirement from active life.

Was As'ōka an abbot called to royalty by misadventure ? Can he be held responsible for the disruption of India in later times ? Is it not pardonable to regard his failures, if they be such, that they were worth more to humanity than the successes of an Alexander, a Darius or Chengizkhan ? It is futile to blame As'ōka for the sufferings of India in later epochs. Attempts of As'ōka or Akbar looking for support on righteousness and piety have their own

reward, unconnected with worldly possessions. As we have seen, As'ōka was aware that conquest was more easy than consolidation. In his effort at securing unity and happiness in his dominions, he used persuasive tact, patience and inherited organisational powers and statecraft as well as military strength. His message is of unique importance at present in the political life of India which has secured freedom without fight from a foreign over-lord, with friendshipand in amity. More people cherish the memory of As'ōka now than have heard the names of Augustus, Charlemagne or Napoleon. The message of As'ōka finds its parallel today in the glory of *ahimsa* left to us as a parting inheritance by the Father of Our Nation, Mahatma Gāndhi.

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BHARATIYA CULTURE

By K. M. Munshi

I

Culture is certainly not the material equipment of life,—neither the æroplane we travel in, nor the radio to which we listen, nor the atom bomb which threatens our existence; they constitute civilization. Culture appertains to a well-defined people: it is their characteristic way of life; it is what makes them distinctive. It is a way of life dominated by a Central Idea, — an idea which is not a means to an end, but an end in itself, persisting through continuous sections of time. This idea throws up fundamental values which are reflected in the collective outlook of the people who preserve that way of life. Certain fundamental values are based on a few ideas, which themselves emanate from a Central Idea; and the best men among the people find self-fulfilment only in living up to this idea. This Central Idea drives the stream of culture forward between the banks of time, changing its course, throwing up formations, leaving behind weeds, meandering or roaring according to the conditions imposed by the pressure and material equipment of each section of time. When these fundamental values cease to inspire men and the Central Idea departs, the culture dies, as in Egypt, Greece and Rome. But the culture of India has been relived, rekindled and integrated from time to time. Vyāsa, Manu, Yājñavalkya, Buddha, Pāṇini, Vālmīki, Kāḷidāsa and the author of the *Bhagavad Gīta* are living influences operating our lives today.

In India, age after age, the best amongst us had faith in certain fundamental values created by a Central Idea. The *Mahābhārata* has been rightly called the 'Collective Unconscious' of India; the *Gīta* has nourished, age after age, the urge for self-fulfilment of men from Arjuna to Gāndhiji, and is even the strength to millions in the present generation, from the President of the Republic downwards. In Vis'vāmitra and Vaṣiṣṭa, in Bhīṣma and Yudhiṣṭira, in S'rī Kṛṣṇa and S'rī Rāmacandra we immediately recognise the dim framework of our self-realisation. The mystic power which gives

new vitality to move millions into action arises out of the dim realisation that it represents the idea which our subconscious aspirations reflected. This idea which preserves our culture through the ages, affirms, as the aim and end of all life, the Absolute Integration of human personality, by making it the medium of expressing that joy, which fades not, nor tires.

There are three aspects of this integration :

1) Man is an inalienable centre of strength and dignity, the architect of his own life, gifted with the power, to attain in full measure self-realisation—*samādhi, nirvāṇa, mokṣa or kalyān*, or by whatever name it is called.

2) Moral Order working through the ineluctable law of causation, shelters and upholds the universe.

3) Faith in the Absolute—or call it God, if you will, and willingness to be Its instrument in the fulfilment of Its purposes is the highest destiny of man.

The rise of man to divine perfection by transcending his human limitations through surrender to the Absolute was accepted as a Central Idea on which the Indo-Āryans based their fundamental values, and later, the Indians, their culture.

II

Epochs of Indian Culture

The long career of our culture can be divided into four distinct ages.

The first, the age of Expansion, can be traced from the chalcolithic civilization of the Indus Valley, five thousand years ago when the country worshipped S'iva, the Pasu'pati in the Yōga posture, through the fresh young life during the age of the Ṛgvedic *mantras* and the vigorous youth of the post-Vedic age of Janamējaya Parīkṣita: through the unbroken continuity during the age of Imperial-Magadha (C.700 B.C.-A.D.320), the Classical Age of the Guptas (A.D.320-750), and the age of Imperial Kanauj (A.D 750-1,000).

The second age of Indian culture, that of Resistance, can be traced through the age of disintegration (A.D.1,000 to 1,300) at the end of which the Sultanate of Delhi became an imperial power in

India. At the end of the twelfth century Central Asian hordes flung themselves on India to burn, to loot, to destroy. Indians, who only knew how to wage wars according to the laws of *Dharma*, were staggered by the totalitarian wars forced upon them. They then mobilised defensive resistance in other spheres of life, and the concentrated vigour of the barbaric onslaught was broken. Alien rule was segregated into the narrowest limits ; inviolable defences —psychological, sOcial and religious—were raised against any surrender to it.

The beginning of the third age, that of modern Renaissance, may be traced to the end of the seventeenth century. By about A.D. 1,700 Rāmdās and S'ivāji in Mahārāṣṭra, the *Gurus* in the Punjāb and the Rājputs in the Rājāsthan had exchanged resistance for aggressive defiance. An expansive mood was in the air. But before Bhārat could reap the harvest of this upsurgence, fate subjected her to political and economic domination by Britain. Undaunted, the upsurgence spread to different channels, to unexpected forms and quarters. The movements associated with Ram Mohan Roy, the Great Revolt of 1857, Dayānanda Sarasvatī, S'rī Rāmakrishna Paramahaṁsa, Vivēkānanda, Tilak and S'rī Aurobindo, Mālaviyāji, Tagore and Gāndhiji and the Congress, represent, each in its own way, the high water mark of a progressively expansive attitude. Through the British universities, established in India to train Indians for subservient careers, the culture forced its way as the Sanskritic revival, a great political awakening and a cultural renaissance. When disarmed after 1857, India projected her urge for self-realisation into a peaceful but all-sweeping movement which reached its climax in the nation wide *satyāgraha* activities.

The fourth age commenced on August 15, 1947, when Indians became masters of their own destiny. But with freedom has come a crisis in our cultural advancement. We have to face post-war problems, new world forces, and the power of a highly technocratic civilization with its industrial and urban problems, to all of which the fundamental values and the Central Idea in our culture have to adjust themselves.

In each age culture broadly expresses itself through four

principal activities, social, intellectual, emotional and æsthetic, and spiritual. It has, therefore, to be studied in four corresponding aspects :

(*a*) Social achievements, with reference to institutions like (i) the family, (ii) the social organisation, and (iii) the State ;

(*b*) Intellectual achievements like (i) political and legal concepts, (ii) speculative thought, and (iii) scientific advancement ;

(*c*) Emotional and æsthetic achievements found in (i) religious movements, (ii) linguistic and literary developments, (iii) art forms and traditions, and (iv) embellishment of life ;

(*d*) Spiritual achievement — reintegration of fundamental values, and their adjustment to the dominant ideas and conditions of the age so that the Central Idea achieves fresh vigour and velocity.

III

Before the first age of formation began, Āryans in India had inherited the institution of the patriarchal family. The house community of the pre-Vedic Āryans all over Asia and Europe lived round the family fire, and consisted of male descendants of a common ancestor. According to Fustel-de-Coulanges and Schrader, these Āryans, in sharp constrast with the matriarchal races, did not recognise any relationship with the mother or her relatives. Maternal right was foreign to them ; only later the paternal right was raised to the parental.

The basic institution of the Vedic Āryans in India was the patriarchate family. The father was the lord and master of the family, both of its members and its assets. Ancestor worship was the central creed.

The *pitṛs*, manes, watched over the family ; they had to be given *piṇḍa dāna*, offerings, at stated intervals or on stated days ; they had to receive an Āryan after he had shuffled off his mortal coil when his son gave the *piṇḍa dāna* to them. When his dead body was consigned to the flames, the *Jatavedas* (Agni) is called

upon to give him over to the *pitṛs*. A son was, therefore, an indispensable link in the chain which bound a man to his *pitṛs* ; if there was no son, there had to be a son by adoption, *i.e.* by spiritual birth ; but he had to be taken from the same family. 'The son is a substitute for the father in performing religious rites,' say the Vedas. The father, son and grandson owned the family property by right of birth. The *pitṛ-yajña* and the *tarpaṇa*, the *piṇḍa dāna* and the *srāddha* kept the spiritual untiy indissoluable. The son was the saviour of the family, for he carried the *kula* forward. The basic idea was that the *pitṛs*, the living males, and the sons born and to be born, were an indissoluable unit.

The *gōtra* was a group of families claiming descent from a common male ancestor and was the unit of society ; a federation of *gōtras* formed the *jana* which claimed an eponymous hero as the common but remote ancestor. Intermarriage between members of the same *gōtra* was forbidden. Five such tribes formed the *panca-janaḥ* who constituted the conquering race in the Saptasindhu of Ṛgvedic times. Their common ancestor was Manu.

Manu's law had even then the reputation of having been handed down from the *pitṛs* ; and to the Āryan it was the law eternal (*eṣa darmaḥ sanātanaḥ*). He prayed that his race might not stray from the path.

Pride of descent from a common male ancestor carried with it the need to demand unswerving loyalty of the women married into the family. Purity of descent is inconceivable without it. Marriage, in which man and wife became one, was the most inalienable of spiritual bonds. The purpose of marriage was '*garhapatya*,' *i.e.* householdership, comradeship in the worship of gods, and protection of sons to secure heaven for oneself and the *pitṛs*. The wife was half of oneself, *s'arīrārdha*. A man was complete only when he took a wife and had a son. The fall of a wife was a great lapse. The gods would not forgive it. Thus was established the fundamental value of the identity of man and wife jointly by the marriage tie.

These values laid the foundation of Āryan culture. Even Paras'urāma had to kill his mother because she looked at a *Gandharva*.

IV

At the dawn of history the foundation of the world's civilization was laid on the banks of the Sindhu and the Narmada. When other peoples were just emerging from the Stone Age, we had the City State and trade organisation, the potter's wheel and the carver's knife, artistic metallurgy and exquisite seal-cutting, baths and public buildings, geometry, star-reading, magic formulāe and writing tablets. We had the worship of the Mother and of Pas'upati, Lord Siva. With that little icon of Pas'upati buried for six thousand years in the sands of the Indus Valley begins the unbroken thread of our life which at present is seen in its luxuriance at Amarnāth, in Kashmir and Rāmēs'vara, at Cape Comorin, in the million temples where today the Nandi kneels to his master, the God of Gods, Mahādēva.

We passed on the torch of civilization to Sumer; Sumer passed it on to Babylonia and Syria; from thence it was passed on to the West.

Let us turn back to India.

Life grew fuller richer, and nobler. The banks of the Sarasvatī were studded with the *āsramas* of Vaṣiṣṭa and Vis'vāmitra, Bhṛgu and Āngiras, the founders of *Dharma*. From there radiated a culture purified by the noble granduer of men who lived in God. Times changed. Divodasa destroyed the fortress of Sambara. Vis'vāmitra fought Vaṣiṣṭa, and out of a conflict of races was born a heirarchy of castes based on culture.

The Āryans of the post-Vedic period were settled in the valleys of the Yamuna and the Ganga. Large kingdoms ruled by the Āryan clans had come into existence. In this age the patriarchal family unit—*kula*—had become firmly established as the foundation of the society. The father was the supreme *guru* and the master of life. Ajigarta could even sell his son for a hundred cows. The Pāṇḍavas had to pass through years of trial on account of their supposed doubtful origin.

In the seventh century before Christ Magadha, under the S'iṣunāgas, emerged as the predominant factor in the life of the country.

Our culture entered upon an era of triumphant expansion first

under the S'iṣunāgas, Nandas and Mauryas; next under Puṣyamitra and the Suṅgās; and later under the Guptas till A.D. 550. Later on for about four centuries, the culture centred on Kanauj carried on the tradition.

The apotheosis of Vikramāditya springs from these glorious memories. The name of Vikramāditya is a living flame, an impelling conception, a living faith in political power, strong and omnipotent, unsubjected to foreign power, emanating from and resting on our own strength; a faith inspired and supported by the genius of our own social order, and our literary and æsthetic heritage; a faith which is founded on *Dharma*. This *dharma* is a way of living, it is a culture in its most comprehensive meaning, an all-embracing law of life in which are included modes of life and canons of conduct, traditions and outlook, wealth of language and literature, a theory of life and social organisation and living ideas, all moulded by the genius of our race and land. So, in its changeless essentials *Dharma* is the Law, the World, the Mother. The belief in the Vedas as the ultimate source of *Dharma* gives to our people, of whatever race, a conscious unity of life and history. The mythology which surrounds it embraces the sacred legends of rivers, mountains and cities, of heroes and sages, human and divine. The social organisation as shaped by it is based on family life dominated by patriarchal tradition, it affords shelter to every needy, helpless member; and imposes, as a corollary, a strict regard for feminine virtue, so essential to preserve the purity of race and culture.

The Age of Expansion ended when in A.D. 940 the Rāṣṭrakūta conquerors of the South broke the power of Kanauj and the Sultans of Ghazni from 997 A.D. onwards carried out their raids rudely shaking the foundations of life. But the North-West had been overrun by the Hunas and allied foreigners; Dakṣinapaṭha, the Deccan, under the Cālukyas, was vying with Uttarapaṭha, Northern India, for all-India supremacy and culture began to lose both its purity and creativeness.

V

The *Sūtras* invested the family with semi-divine sanction. They laid emphasis on the headship of the father, the corporate

character of the joint family, and the indissolubility of the *gotras*. The economic basis of the family was the ancestral property; the economic bond was strengthened between the ancestor from whom the property was inherited on one side, and the owner, his son and grandson who acquired interest in it by birth. This laid the foundation of a stable economic order.

Intermarriage between members of the three castes (the *dvijas*) without offending against the principle of *pratilōma* was the rule. Marriage as a spiritual merger of man and wife became a fundamental value. *Pāraskara Gṛhya Sūtra* indicates this alchemy; "With thy breath I join my breath, with your bones my bones, with thy flesh my flesh, and with thy skin my skin." It was the age of Sukanya, Arundhati and Anasuya, of Sāvitrī and Sītā. Arjuna in the *Gītā* expresses horror at the lapse of women from chastity, and at sons of mixed descent. A woman's loss of rights in her father's property and acquisition of rights in the husband's, as laid down by the *Smṛtis*, provided the economical basis. In later centuries it accounted for the wonderful tenacity of our social institutions. During the later ages, this value was invested with tragic greatness; in the Age of Resistance, thousands of women cheerfully lived up to the idea of going through the sublime self-immolation of *Jauhar*.

The Gupta empire was dissolved by the inroads made by foreigners in the North and the West. The four allied martial tribes—an interconnubial group—of Pratīhārās, Chahmanas, Cāḷukyas and Parāmāras became a military power, fought the East under the Pālas of Bengal and the South under the Rāṣṭrakutas and founded the Imperial Gūrjaradēs'a which comprised West Punjāb, East Madhyadēṣa, Rajaputāna, Mālwa and Gujarāt, with Kanauj as the capital of India.

From about A.D.600, the North and South each had its own line of Emperors, the Gūrjara-Pratīhārās of Kanauj and the Cāḷukyas and the Rāṣṭrakūtas of Vātāpi. The cultural classes of the North had been, by heredity or education, deeply imbued with the values of Āryan culture. In the South, except in the case of the Brāhmaṇas, the culture was no more than an ideal pattern in which the existing social conditions were to be cast under the

influence of Brāhmaṇas and devout kings. Women in the South were in a sense free from the code which the *Smṛtis* enjoined; even in high society they were different from the women of the North, free in their intercourse with men.

With free intermarriage between the North and the South consequent upon frequent wars, intermarriage between the higher classes disappeared in the North. The martial races came to be much married. Disparity of cultural outlook among the families who thus freely intermarried led to a lowering of cultural value. The wife became a mere dependent. Islam also appeared in Sindh and, as is seen in the *Devala Smṛti*, the wife forcibly converted to Islam created a new problem unknown before. *Anuloma* marriages became rare. The education of women came to be neglected or was rendered impossible; castes slowly came to be segregated into compartments. The patriarchal family unit and the marriage tie were accepted as sacred values in theory; in practice, among certain sections of the socitey, they were disregarded.

With the disastrous inroads of Central Asian hordes, the Age of Resistance was reached. I have called this 'the Age of Resistance,' because whatever cultural development we find during the period was more a product of determined resistance to the destructive forces which came into India from outside rather than a direct contact with alien influences.

VI

Many were the Vikramadityas of frustrated destiny who fought and died in a thousand ways so that *Dharma* may live. Their epic is still to be written. Of them all, the first was the brilliant and impetuous Prithvirāja; the type and model of all later resisters. The first centre of resistance was Ranthambhor which, year after year, rose in defiance till it was wiped out. The noblest was Chitore, which again and again sent its young men to die so that *Dharma* might live. The last great resister of that period was Hemu Vikramaditya who, in A. D. 1556, fought Behramkhan to his last breath.

The Age of Resistanace passed through the several stages. The first and the darkest period was from Kutub-ud-Din to Akbar,

and the second period of weakening resistance from Akbar to A. D. 1675. The administration of that law laid down by the *Dharma-s'āstras*, so far considered to be the duty of good kings, was neglected wherever the foreigners held sway.

The great centres of learning throughout the North were destroyed. The operation of free intellectual and moral forces was arrested. Society developed defensive conservatism. In about eighty years which passed between Medhātithi's commentary on Manu and Vijñānēs'vara's commentary on Yājñavalkya, we find a society completely changed in its attitude from an expansive, almost aggressive, outlook towards world conquest to a frantic attempt at conserving all that happened to be current at the time. The joint family became more rigid; family life was allowed little scope for freedom. Women, the most coveted of possessions, were protected, treasured in families by infant marriage, and in many cases by *purdah*. The wife was merged in the husband, but was no longer his partner. She tended to deteriorate into a parasite; not that anyone made her so; but fleeing from the terrors of the onrushing tide of destruction, she was helplessly reduced to that position. For instance, nowhere in India today is the *purdah* so rigid as in Rājāsthan, which for several centuries bore the brunt of the onrush and, resisting grimly, saved the social structure and cultural traditions.

The second great institution, the social organisation of *Cātur-varṇya*, can also be traced through the different ages. In the early Age of Expansion, particularly in the early *Mantra* period, Brāhmaṇa was the professional priest: Rājanya the ruler-king; Vaiṣya, the villager who constituted the bulk of the Āryan community; Dāsyus and S'udras were the non-Āryan, dark-skinned noseless peoples with strange gods. But the germ of the *Cāturvarṇya* was there. Those men who as a class dedicated themselves to learning and meditation were recognised as the head of the community. By their far-sighted social wizardry they converted the political supremacy of the Āryans over non-Āryans into a cultural hierarchy of the *dvija* (twice-born) and the non-*dvijas*. Transition from one class to another came to depend upon conformity to cultural standards rather than birth. The *Puruṣa Sūkta* of the Ṛgveda period has left on

record the first clear indication of the four-fold order of society. The four-fold order was devised to broaden and arrange the social system so as to absorb the non-Āryans without sacrificing cultural purity.

In the post-Vedic period, the four-fold order of society became a universal order, the men of learning and non-possession stood at the head; the Kṣatriyas came next, though a clear tendency to look upon them as exalted is discernible. The incident of Brāhmaṇa Paras'urāma being made to suffer a defeat at the hands of Kṣatriya Rāma is an indication of a rival movement. But as kingdoms grew, the kings could not do without divine sanction, and it was forth-coming only through protracted and costly sacrifices which a host of Brāhmaṇas alone could perform.

VII

When history opens with Magadha's imperial sway we see the struggle continuing in spite of the traditional arrangement. "The king had to find the *srotrīya*, for he was the half soul of the king; both were the upholders of *dharma*," say the *Satapaṭha* and the *Aitarēya Brāhmaṇas*. But the Brāhmaṇas, who had by then become the repositories of learning and statecraft, of poetry and science, were indispensable leaders of the community. They could prescribe law-texts; they could perform sarifices: they could indulge in philosophic speculations; they could also produce political texts, the greatest of which—Kauṭilya's *Arthas'āstra*—has few parallels, if any, in the political literature of the world. The theoretical pattern of Society as the four-fold order has its antagonist too. Nanda was one of them. *Matsyapurāṇa* refers to irascible and contemptible rulers who tried to destroy the social system.

The foundations of culture were so well laid in *Cāturvarṇya* that, with the period which opened with the rule of Puṣyamitra, himself a Brāhmaṇa, *Cāturvarṇya* became accepted as an immutable social order. No doubt, each province and each movement interpreted it as it liked.

S'rī Kṛṣṇa in the *Gītā* ranges the four-fold order according to qualities and actions (*guṇa-karma-vibhāgasaḥ*). Yudhiṣṭira, in his dialogue with Nahuṣa, himself expresses a doubt as to the

validity of hereditary castes. In the *Mahābhārata*, Indra enjoins Māndhāta to bring all the foreigners into the fold of *Dharma*. And Kāḷidasa's works reflect the beauty and vigour *of Cāturvarṇya* at its best.

In the Age of Expansion, it provided a social pattern of universal application whereby new races were fitted into a living organisation, without destroying its stability and cultural standards. It utilised the principle of hereditary transmission of specialised functions to produce one corporation of men devoted to learning, another of men devoted to the martial arts, and a third of those pursuing trade and commerce. It established society. It enabled the Brāhmaṇas to work for intellectual and literary advancement. It enjoined on the Kṣatriyas the duty to protect the social structure, to preserve the law, and, by humanising and regulating war, to render the continuity of culture possible. The Vaiṣyas were to carry on the economic life of the people, undisturbed by political earthquakes. While this order emphasised heredity, it also had elasticity. It enabled outsiders to be absorbed easily or a lower group to rise to a higher level by adopting a more cultured way of life. It provided India with a living social gospel wherewith to make internal life coherent and external conquest full of meaning. Medātiṭḥi says Āryavarta is not between the mountains and the sea ; wherever an Āryan ruler spreads his arms, establishes *Cāturvarṇya* and reduces the *mlecchas* to the position of s'ūdras, there is Āryavarta.

VIII

In the Age of Resistance, *Cāturvarṇya* played its part magnificently. The Brāhmaṇas, driven from their ancient universities, fled to distant villages, preserved learning and traditions, upheld the *Smṛti* laws, and catered for the educational and religious needs of the people. The Kṣatriyas, men and women, died in their thousands to preserve freedom and faith. The Vaiṣyas bought from the barbarians safety for themselves and the rest, for their shrines and for their localities, and carried on their vocation with deft thoroughness.

When a cataclysmic upheaval followed the invasion, the

Cāturnvarṇya became the fortress of life. Millions of refugees fled before the onrushing fury; subdivided themselves into rigid sub-castes, preserved their way of life, resisted aliens and their ways by the sharpest of collective instruments—social ostracism and sheer non-recognition of everything alien. If *Cāturvarṇya* had not reacted so defensively, India would have been a charnel-house of **Bhāratīya Culture**. If the Kṣatriyas resisted in every fort and village and their womenfolk courted fire in order to leave a mighty tradition of unsullied chastity, the Brāhmaṇas threw up *acārya*, *bhaktas* and poets who brought about religious upheaval and literary renaissance and kept alive the inspiration of Sanskrit. The flags of the mercantile fleet of Gujarāt owned by the Vaiṣyas continued to fly in eighty-four foreign ports throughout this age. We, who are blinded by an admiration of the social apparatus of the West, fail to realise that *Cāturvarṇya* was a marvellous social synthesis on a country-wide scale, when the rest of the world was weltering in a tribal state.

"No doubt", says Sydney Low in his *Vision of India* "that it (*Cāturvarṇya*) is the main cause of the fundamental stability and contentment by which Indian society has been braced up for centuries against the shocks of politics and the cataclysms of nature."

Indian culture has been a dynamic force throughout history and no better proof of it could be found than in the vitality, tenacity and adaptability of its social structure.

IX

When we were disorganised and had lost our souls in conditions of a promise of enforced peace, when we forgot our ancient dignity, the tremendous vitality of our culture saved us. Ram Mohan Roy awoke a new light which he saw with undimmed eyes; it was the quenchless flame of the Upaniṣads. Dayānand, almost in the hour of the national disaster of 1857, voiced the urge for a new integration of our culture, going back to the Vedas, our Rock of Ages. Rāmakrishna, the noblest man of modern times, gave new validity to the heritage of the *Gītā*. Bankim Chandra Chattopādhyāya, like a second Bhagīratha, brought down to earth our

other worldly religious devotion in order to fertilise secular efforts. Vivēkānanda gave us back our lost dignity and our departed faith in our heritage. Surendranāth, the trumpet voiced, roused us to the vigour of a militant nationalism. When, with Japan's victory over Russia, Asia awoke to a new strength, S'rī Aurobindo, with a prophet's vision transmuted Indian culture into a neo-nationalism which saw the Mother in the Motherland. Then came Gāndhiji, the architect of the steady hand and the unerring eye, and built the fortress of our freedom which resisted for over a quarter of a century the onslaughts of the mightiest empire in world's history. We won ; we were free ; we stepped into a new life.

X

The Age of the Common Man

This age is invariably called the age of the Common Man, the age of mass upilft, the age of classless society, the age of every sweeping generalisation which modern mind can invent. But in truth it is an age—like every other age—when the finest minds are needed to add to the dynamic strength of the country. Our Universities are our only hope in the arduous task of building up the economic, intellectual and spiritual life of our nation. They train minds to the highest efficiency, providing men and women of superior intelligence, industry and force of character which will give to India the leadership of the world in action and thought.

Kāḷidāsa, in the *S'ākuntala,* has given us a picture of an *āsrama,* a shrine of living culture with his marvellous surroundings, its well-mannered pupils, its tone and atmosphere, full of peace ; but we see its soul only when Kaṇva comes, that beautiful old man who, as it were, envelopes his pupils, the deer, the bees and the flowers with an all-embracing humanity. The very presence of such a Kaṇva in our universities would be to the student like Plato, as described by Newman, "a stay for his mind to rest, or a burning thought in his heart, a bond of union with men like himself, ever after." Such *āsramas* studded in all parts of the country are essential for our self-culture and for self-expression and for the study of our history and our culture in the light of world progress. Indian culture is not

the same thing as the material equipment of life in India which is civilization. Cultural values are permanent; they are an end in themselves. Civilization is the garb of life; only a means to lead a comfortable life. Our new education must follow the lines of our culture. It must affirm the Man, his inner self and his ultimate destiny as much as his historical and social responsibility.

XI
The Future

Our culture is facing a new crisis. The struggle for existence has become acute. Traditional influences are being looked down upon and resisted. Science marches on, as it should; but religion and classics, the great steadying factors in human life, are neglected. Naturally, new and explosive ideas are rampart all over the world, and it would be suicidal to ignore them. The old life is threatened by the new freedom which each man claims; by the emergence of woman as an independent member of society; by the possible turmoil into which a democracy based on adult franchise may throw us; and by totalitarianism which threatens all free life with soulless regimentation. All these factors have been casting the world including India into a different mould. The universities which are crucibles of culture have to take up the challenge and meet the culture crisis.

Education in moral and social values should be taken up, studied and given a purposeful shape in our academies in order to recapture the prestige and strength of our great and undying culture. The stability of family life and of society depends on the lifelong comradeship of husband and wife, in confidence and interdependence. Marriage must be sublimated into a thing of lasting beauty, if future India is to retain its firm foundation. The new woman should be free. She should also learn to make marriage not only a success but a source of joy and harmony.

There is a mad glamour for rights without duties. Workers want the right to strike; they disown the duty to produce. Politicians claim the right to govern; they equally claim to be indifferent to popular approbation which selfless service alone brings. Students live to assert the right to strike, which

in their case means the right to stay away from studies. Stern discipline should be the privilege of the next generation to strengthen our National State which suffers from inexperience and administrative inefficiency and which is facing a serious economic crisis. One of the fundamental values of our culture has been boundless intellectual audacity, which was smothered during the Age of Resistance (A.D. 1,000 to 1,658). Thought and scholarship, however, during the period of Modern Renaissance (A.D. 1,658 to 1947) awakened to new energy and power. The wings of higher intellectual speculation, have, however, yet to gather strength. A thirst for technological career is proper and we are behind the advanced nations of the world in equipment and talent for higher research. Science is not for us a luxury but a matter of life and death. But education would fail ignominiously in its objective, if it manufactured only a robot and called him an economic man, accenting the objective 'economic' and forgetting the substantive 'man.' Every one, be he who he may, whatever his occupation, has to be a devoted husband, a kind father, a friendly neighbour, a dutiful citizen and a man true to himself. He will have trials and tribulations; his heart will fail him at times; he will then need the strength which true culture alone at times can give.

The best and the most useful equipment in life is acquired by the study of Sanskrit in original, at least in translations. A life-long companionship with the *Mahābhārata*, for example, will give, if nothing more, an interesting friend who will never fail, who will lend fresh vitality and strength, who will teach the fundamental values without which life, even in modern times and however successful will be empty of all meaning.

XII

Universities must encourage a wide and universal view of art, the exaltation of the spirit and a creative mind. There must be in our literature not merely the beauty of Kāḷidasa, but the power of Aeschyles; not merely the lyrical sweetness of Candidās and Mīrā but the passion of Sappho, the ethereal touch of Shelley and the magic charm of Goethe; not merely the narrative vividness and human intensity of the *Mahābhārata* but also the living art of

story-telling of Dumas, the vibrant idealism of Victor Hugo, the power and personality of Shakespeare.

The personality of man must be developed in the midst of life and not away from it. S'rī Kṛṣṇa asked Arjuna to fight in the grim battle, facing murderous foes; he was not asked to retire to solitary caves or pathless jungles. Stand fast to yourself, fill your minds with great ideals and noble deeds, build up your individual strength by conquering limitations, attachment, wrath, malice; shed your weakness.

BASIS OF INDIAN CULTURE

A Universal Outlook *

By K. M. PANIKKAR

CULTURE has always been a most difficult thing to define. Personally I have tended to differentiate it as being related to society. A cultured society in my view, therefore, is a society of cultured individuals, while a civilised society is one which is organised under conditions ministering to the welfare of the community. So the problem of culture can be discussed from a national point of view only on the assumption that there are, broadly speaking, common factors in the development of individuals belonging to a nation, a similarity of conduct, behaviour and approach to essential problems, which arise from shared traditions and ideas. It is this common outlook which may generally be described as the culture of a country.

Now, has India a culture of her own and, if she has, how is it differentiated from the culture of other countries ? That India has a life-view of her own, a special outlook on essential problems which has persisted throughout her history would hardly be denied by anyone. But it is not so easy to define what the essential elements of that culture are. It is a common notion among us that our culture is more spiritual than that of others, but this is hardly tenable when we examine the facts more closely. While civilisation could be and are generally materialistic there is no culture which is not essentially spiritual. T. S. Elliot in fact, in his "Observations on Culture," argues that the basis of culture is religion and common culture proceeds from commonly held religious beliefs. It is undeniably true that it is Christianity that forms the basis of European culture, in the same way that it is the pre-eminence of Hinduism in India that give to Indian culture its special characteristics. The essential point, therefore, would seem to be not that one culture is more spiritual than the other,

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but that the philosophies of religion, which mould our lives are different.

The basic conception of Hinduism, which separates it from revealed religions believing in the finality of their revelations, is one of wide tolerance. When Kṛṣṇa says in the *Gītā* :

Yo Yatha mam propadyante stam thathaiva bhajamyaham

" I give to every one according to his worship."

he proclaims a doctrine which is fundamental to all Hindu thought ; that is, religion is not a matter of exclusive dogma. It is a wide tolerance, a feeling that others may be equally right in the methods they follow, that is the essence of Hindu teaching. This has coloured Hindu life to such an extent that it may truly be considered the differentiating mark of Indian culture, a respect for the faith and beliefs of others and a generous charity in understanding the approach of other people to the problems of life. It is this sense of tolerance and charity that gives harmony to the inner life of an Indian of culture, for, while he is firm in his own faith, he is prepared to approach them with an open mind.

From this doctrine also follows what I consider that second characteristic of Indian culture — its universal outlook. Whatever the limitations of Hindu social practises, and the narrowness of Indian institutions, Indian thought has never accepted geographical, racial and other considerations as affecting ultimate values. They have held to truths which they consider to be of universal validity. This universality of approach is responsible for the unique characteristic of Hindu civilisation, its readiness to assimilate what is of value in other civilisations. There was never any refusal to learn from others, or any resistance to ideas on the ground of their being foreign. Hindu thought has, therefore, encouraged a continuous synthesis, even when it had to deal with philosophies like those of Christianity and Islam. Saints and teachers, who combined Hindu and Islamic teachings, for example, were freely accepted as religious leaders, at a time when the two religions were confronting each other. Similar was the case when organised Christianity made its first onslaught on Hinduism. Those who tried to fuse the doctrines of both were not repudiated,

but accepted as leaders of new thought. This doctrine of synthesis again has its effect on the mind of the individual, on his culture.

The desire to absorb and to assimilate and thereby create a new culture may be seen also in our current history. While the resistance to Western ideas had been a marked characteristic of many societies, which came under the political domination of Europe, in India the resistance was never to Western ideas but only to Western authority. In fact, the last hundred years of Indian history marks a significant chapter in the history of the world, because of the freedom with which India accepted new ideas from the West and transformed her own social and political thinking. The political independence of India did not involve any attempt on the part of Indians to revert to their ancient modes of thinking or to resuscitate their own social organisations. On the other hand it revealed a determined effort to carry forward the new ideas she had assimilated, and to build them into her new life. The characteristic of Indian culture as a permanent and continuing synthesis of ideas has never been more clearly demonstrated than in the history of the last seven years.

A third, and equally important, aspect of Indian culture is its inalienable faith in the worth of the individual. The dominant European social doctrines from the time of Aristotle have held that the State is the primary conception and that the individual can have his being and find his fulfilment only through the State. While the claims of organised society are indisputable, the Indian doctrine sets definite limits to the authority of the State. The *dharma*, as representing the rights of the individual, was above the State. It is the good of the individual that is the supreme object of the *dharma*, and it safeguarded the individual against the encroachments of the State. In modern Europe, the Hegelian State, whether it represents the dictatorship of the proletariat, or the will of the sovereign people, claims an omnipotence which at least in relation to itself restricts the right of the individual. Whether the society be socialist or capitalist in its claim, it is totalitarian. It considers itself as an organism made up of cells, and so long as the organism lives and develops, the fate of individual cells is of little consequence. This organic

conception of society neglects the value of the individual as a separate entity. The assumptions of Indian culture are indeed contrary to this doctrine. The individualism of Indian culture is based on the conception of the perfectibility of each individual soul, the essential importance of each one, through self-realisation, reaching the ultimate goal.

It may be argued that this conception of individualism is anarchic and if logically followed will lead to a denial of organised life which we call the State. This argument would no doubt be valid if the rights of the individual were not limited by other considerations. The conception of *Lōka Saṁgraha*, or purposive activity in the interests of the world as the supreme *dharma* of the individual, modifies the otherwise anarchical character of the Indian ideals and provides a basis for a State which harmoniously blends both the good of the whole and of what the whole consists. The doctrine of *Lōka Saṁgraha* connects the individual's activity with the purposes of organised society and thereby ensures that the freedom of the individual is not used against the common good.

Those three conceptions taken together constitute the essential elements of Indian culture. The rest follows from them. The cultivation of sympathies and imagination, patterns of external behaviour, the control of emotions, the growth of moral sensibilities, a living sense of charity—these, which form the hall-marks of true culture, flow naturally from these conceptions. They are only the result of our inward harmony, of the discipline moulded by national traditions. It is easy for a man to acquire knowledge; he may become technically perfect in many spheres of learning, but mere knowledge would not make a man cultured. A distinguished American sociologist once mentioned to me that the most cultured man it had been his good fortune to meet was the chief of an African tribe in Kenya; that his poise, courtesy, tolerance and understanding, which my friend, a Nobel Laureate himself, came to appreciate by continuous contact with him over a considerable period, evidenced a mental harmony, which was the highest form of culture. Exceptional individuals apart, such culture is the result of centuries of evolution, of the growth within an ever-widening

circle of ideals and disciplines which operate unconsciously on the individual. Indian society, during the last three thousand years, has developed these traditions and ideals and made them part of its life. It operates on the individual in a hundred different ways and produces the type of culture we may legitimately describe as Indian—a culture which is based on wide tolerance, a universality of thought, a desire to acquire and assimilate from others what is good in their ways, in fact a life based on sympathy and understanding. This is what in my opinion constitutes true Indian culture.

BASIS OF INDIAN CULTURE

Unity in Diversity *

By HUMAYUN KABIR

INDIAN culture is too rich and complex to be summed up in any single formula. Difference and variety are inevitable in so vast and ancient a land. In addition, India has throughout the ages delighted in giving shelter to all varieties of human thought and endeavour. It is therefore not possible to deal with the subject here comprehensively. However, one may attempt to indicate some characteristics, which distinguish Indian culture from other cultures.

The foremost feature of Indian culture is its great richness and complexity. Here we have every variety of religious faith from primitive fetishism to the most abstract form of intellectual monism. We have people who worship God in His various physical manifestations, and we have others who conceive of God as formless and perhaps even nameless. Social institutions also exhibit every conceivable type from stages of primitive life to the most elaborate rituals of highly sophisticated groups. Representing almost every stage of development known to human history, India is rightly regarded as an anthropologist's paradise. Today, whatever is of India, whether it be an idea, a word, a form of art, a political institution or a social custom, is a blend of many different strains and elements. Yet in spite of this immense diversity and richness, there in an unmistakable character which stamps them all as Indian.

The vitality of Indian culture is another feature which has impressed students of history. In spite of great political and economic vicissitudes, of the continual inflow of new races and new peoples, India has not only survived but displays an energy which promises to make Indian culture one of the most fruitful sources of the future world culture. The ancient world threw up many fine flowers of civilisation and culture; but with rare exceptions, they are dead. New civilisations may have blossomed

* A Talk broadcast in the External Services of the All-India Radio.

in some of these ancient lands, but they are novel growths. In India, however, there has been no break with the past. The old culture has changed and grown but has not done so at the expense of its underlying unity. This has been possible only on account of a sense of Indianness which imposed unity in diversity and wove into one fabric of national life the many strands of different texture, colour and equality which have gone into it.

How did this sense of Indianness, of unity in the midst of diversity, grow ? The answer is in the capacity of Indian society to adjust itself to the challenge of the times. Capacity to respond to the enviornment is the index of life. The secret of the long and continuous life of Indian cnlture lies in the fact that Indian thought and Indian society have adjusted and readjusted themselves to the changing circumstances with an elasticity that has rarely been equalled. In the days of her vitality, India accepted freely gifts other people brought. She profited by the astronomy of the Greeks and the many practical inventions by the Chinese. Nothing was taboo to her, for whatever was human was her domain.

Two distinct but related factors gave this elasticity and vitality to Indian culture. One was India's capacity to reconcile what in other societies had proved incompatible elements. Live-and-let-live has been the policy of India in all spheres of life. History has perhaps no parallel to the generous welcome that India has given to any faith that sought a home here. Christianity came to India within a few decades of the death of Christ. It pursued its own tenor of life undisturbed by any political or religious opposition. When Zoroastrians fled from Iran, they also found a safe haven in India. Judaism sought and found an asylum here. Islam came to India within a few decades of the death of the Prophet and established itself peacefully in her southern regions. Neither Hinduism nor Buddhism ever made any attempt to oppose its entry into India. Again, when towards the end of the Middle Ages, the Portuguese brought Catholicism to India, there was no attempt to oppose it on religious or political grounds.

From this spirit of toleration followed India's power of reconciling diversities and her capacity to unite in one synthesis the different elements which different people brought. The Āryans accepted, may be with some modifications, the gods and goddesses

of the Dravidians and other pre-Āryans. The values of Buddhism and Jainism were also later incorporated by Hinduism. Quite early in her history, India realized that every creed contains elements of truth, for it is the product of man's insight at different levels into the same truth about the same reality. This made it possible for India to accept the basic truths of Islam and Christianity when these religions came to the Indian shore. In the Middle Ages, we have a wonderful record of rapprochement between Hindu and Muslim thought, which gave birth to a new religious and philosophical movement. The names of saints and poets like Khwaja Moinuddin, Kabir, Nānak, Shah Jalal, Rāmānanda, Chaitanya and Nizamuddin are today household words in Indian homes. The growth of Vaiṣṇavism in Bengal and of the *Bhakti* cult in Mahārāṣṭra may be directly atrributed to this fusion of religious cultures in the Middle Ages. The same phenomenon is seen in the rise of Brahmoism and modern Hinduism as a result of the impact of the West.

This spirit of synthesis and toleration is based on a deep spirituality which marks all strata of Indian life. The demands of life in India are few and they are easily satisfied. Excepting in certain bordering regions, the climate has been kind and left to the people leisure to devote themselves to non-material pursuits. The Indian peasant has therefore always been prone to speculate upon the mysteries of being. He has a philosophy of life and can talk of fate and circumstance with a detachment and insight that surprises the unaccustomed foreigner. People have often wondered at this philosophic content and fortitude of the common man in India. In many countries of the West, there is a great difference in mental equipment and intellectual energy between the masses and the classes. The developments in technology have not changed this state of affairs but on the contrary tended to develop morons. In India even backwardness and lack of scientific technique has not reduced the skill and intelligence of village artisans and craftsmen. The difference between her masses and her classes is not one of quality but one that can be explained in terms of information and opportunity.

Fundamentally, it is a philosophic outlook which has

determined Indian culture in all its various manifestations. The wonderful variety of the country, not only in her geography but also in her tribes, languages, customs and beliefs, political organisations and stages of culture prepared the mind to an acceptance of difference and the search for unity in the midst of diversity. It was a peculiar glory of the early Āryan invaders who came to this land that they could provide a philosophic basis for this acceptance. Indian philosophy is essentially practical and has helped in the integration of Indian life into a unity which recognises all differences as so many manifestations of the one reality. This emphasis on a reality beyond what is seen and heard and felt had developed in the Indian people an attitude of calm acceptance of fate and concern with the higher values of life. Men have sought to achieve contentment by limiting their wants, not by adding to the instruments of luxury. Plain living and high thinking has been the creed of some of her finest sons and daughters.

Neither solely worldly nor exclusively other-worldly, Indian philosophy helped both to justify and to encourage a synthetic attitude of the mind. The world was conceived as a unity of reality, manifesting itself in many different appearances. Religion was seen as a unity of truth expressing itself in many different creeds. Both truth and reality are understood as manifestations of the pervasive principle of unity in difference. This tolerant, synthetic and synoptic spirit of ancient Indian thought has given to her culture throughout the ages resilience and flexibility which have enabled it to permeate the entire mass of the people and resist all attempts to break the continuity and life of the ancient tradition.

The process of synthesis continues to this day. Tagore sang of it in his magnificent ode that has become India's National Anthem. Mahatma Gāndhi expressed it in his reverence of all faiths. The Indian Republic has enshrined it in her Constitution in the conception of a secular State, which regards all her citizens as equal without regard to difference in language or creed or race or sex. With the condensation of space and time, the spirit is bound to lead to still higher achievement of the human mind. In this capacity for reconciliation, renewal and growth lies the secret of the unity, the continuity and the richness of the culture of India.

THE YOGA OF SYNTHESIS IN THE BHAGAVAD GITA *

By M. Ramakrishna Bhat, M.A.

From time immemorial the history of man's existence has been one of constant struggle against his environments for the sake of happiness in an ever-increasing measure. The more he seeks for it, the farther it goes. In ancient times men realized that to lead a happy life in the midst of frowning nature it was essential for them to build houses and to make weapons in order to destroy their enemies and wild beasts that came in the way of their possessing certain things required for their happiness. Gradually with the advancement of culture and intellectual work they tried to bring others under their control for selfish ends, so that their pelf and power would increase, yielding greater happiness. Of course in their imagination happiness consisted in the enjoyment of material and sensual pleasures. We have seen that the pages of history are replete with accounts of sanguinary battles fought for the sake of wealth, woman or kingdom, throughout the world. Even today man is feverishly striving to increase the production of materials supposed to make mankind happy. Even with the invention of the Aeroplane, Television, Radio and things of that kind man is still groping in the dark trying to find out the means of peace in the world and happiness for mankind.

We should not forget here that God has given man not only the "Possessive" instinct but also the "Creative" or "Distributive" instinct. This latter instinct has been developing in man from the Family-sphere to the Divine or Spiritual sphere passing through the various spheres, such as the Social, National, International and Universal ones. With his intellectual and moral advancement man has found greater and greater happiness in working not for his own aggrandisement but for the good of others. This happiness was found to be of greater significance and value than that derived from the enjoyment of sensual pleasures. Thus man realized that

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there was no happiness in possession or hoarding but in sacrifice and charity. For the more one hoards, the more one craves for it—हविषा कृष्णवर्त्मेव भूय एवाभिवर्धते। Great thinkers or seers who are the cream of society arrived at the above truth after much suffering, ratiocination and intuitive experience. They have laid down certain principles to guide the man of the world in his daily life within himself and with other members of society. They have bequeathed to us the benefit of their experience and mature wisdom in the form of the Vedas, *Upaniṣads*, systems of philosophy (*S'āstras*), *Smṛtis*, *Purāṇas*, *Itihāsas*, etc. etc. with the sole aim of helping us and raising us from the mire of worldly life. They have had absolutely no desire for name, fame or wealth. In them the "Creative" instinct had completely displaced the "Possessive" instinct.

The *Bhagavad Gītā* is one such result of the "Creative" urge at the ancient seers. It is rightly called the "Teacher of the Science and Art of Life." It is the scripture of *Yōga* and not of *Bhōga*. It is a guide for us in the matter of *Thyāga*, sacrifice, and not of *Rāga*, passion. It asks us to cherish *jñāna* — Knowledge — and to pierce the veil of *Ajñānā* — ignorance. It advises us to practise *Dāna* — charity — and to give up *Abhimāna* — pride or selfishness. It is one of the most popular books of the world. What are the causes of its universal acceptance and reverence? The broadness of vision, tolerance of outlook, depth of philosophical thought, absence of narrow sectarian ideas, harmony of human ideals, gradation of the teachings, lack of conflicting theories, simplicity of diction and language, thoroughness and directness of exposition, the human approach to the everyday problems of life, the eternal values expounded, the simultaneous hoariness and freshness of the problems discussed, the scientific approach, the catechetical form in which it is couched, the simple and musical *Anuṣṭubh* metre in which mostly it is composed—all these have contributed to make the *Gītā*, the "Perennial Philosophy" of the world, as Aldous Huxley has put it. Besides that, it represents the cream of the Vedas and the quintessence of the *Upaniṣads*. Its message, as that of the *Upaniṣads*, is that of peace, solace and freedom. One who wants to lead a full-fledged life cannot

but read it and follow its teachings, which apply to people of all shades of opinion and all walks of life.

The primary object of the *Gītā*, as I have understood it, is to remove the grief of Arjuna as well as of the entire humanity of all times. For the Lord says: "अशोच्या नन्वशोचस्त्वं . . . " 'You have grieved unnecessarily for those that ought not to be grieved for.' After all man feels happy when his grief or cause for grief is removed. The Lord closes his advice to Arjuna again with the same theme of non-grief in the verse — "सर्वधर्मान्परित्यज्य...मा शुचः।" Here the Lord seems to extoll the act of शरणागति or self-surrender, above all other things. In fact this is the piece of advice that is given to children at home and in school. The *Upaniṣads* also ask the students to be completely under the influence and control of their *Ācāryas* and learn the Vedas. The only *Dharma* that a real disciple should observe is to obey his *Guru* or merge his individuality in the personality of his preceptor. The modern student who is guided by the principles of so many 'Isms' has to bear in mind the up-to-date teaching of the *Gītā* to the effect that all his worries and troubles will be removed and he will feel happy in the world he is going to enter soon, provided he becomes a devotee of the preceptor and follows him in thought, word and deed. In this respect too the *Gītā* would play an important role, if it were made a subject for compulsory study.

The *Bhagavad Gītā* is called *Yōga S'āstra.* We have to understand at the outset what is meant by *Yōga*. The word is derived from the root *Yuj* meaning to join or to unite. But various other meanings are also given in Sanskrit lexicons. They are—yoke, conveyance, trick, mode, diligence, propriety, employment, armour, remedy, incantation, argument, opportunity, meditation, wealth, precept, dependence, etymological meaning of a word, conjunction, the principal star in a lunar mansion, spy, traitor, acquisition of a new object, *Nitya Yōga*, etc. etc. Sage Patañjali defines *Yōga* as the curbing of the activities of the mind. Generally this is the sense in which the term is understood by scholars and lay men alike. But the *Gītā* uses this term rather freely in a comprehensive manner. For the lord says "युद्धाय युज्यस्व" (II-38) — apply yourself

steadfastly to battle — thereby meaning wholehearted application or adherence to a thing to be *yōga*. Again He says "समत्व योग उच्यते" (II-48)—Equipoise or harmony is called *yōga*. Again in II-49 He tells us about *Buddhi yōga*—the intellectual path — which means 'बुद्धौ शरणान्वेषणम्' — taking refuge in wisdom or being guided by one's own wisdom or intelligence. In the very next stanza He speaks of *yōga* as skill in actions. This would give the idea that whatever work you undertake must be done skilfully and thoroughly. Again it is said to be the firm fixing intellect in *Samādhi* or meditation leading to self-absorption. Elsewhere He refers to it as restraint of the senses. Again He says that it is the steadiness of the tranquil intellect. He speaks of *Karma yōga*, *Jñāna yōga*, *Bhakti yōga* , *Sannyāsa yōga*, *Rāja yōga*, etc. From the above quotations it is clear that the Lord uses the term in a very elastic manner. Ultimately the word means only a postulate or idea, since at the end of each chapter we get *yōga* like — अर्जुनविषादयोग. How can sorrow be a *yōga* unless it is used in the sense of mere 'subject' ? So here it means nothing more than the subject matter or 'purport'.

Mainly the *Gītā* treats of three *yōgas*, *viz*. *karma*, *bhakti* and *jñāna*. Let us first of all see what the Lord means by *karma yōga* : It is performance of action without attachment to its fruit and with a balanced mind both in success and failure. It is also doing one's duty for duty's sake. Real *karma yōga* is that wherein the doer though intensely engaged in work feels that he is not the agent. It means action done without egoism and desire, as worship of the lord. Such a *yōgin* is ever content. His mind and senses are perfectly under control. He is content with what he gets by chance, *i.e.* by God's will, and is possessed of even-mindedness. All his actions are worship of the Lord. He does not fight shy of his *Svadharma ;* but he does it without amy greed for the result or jealousy for others. Such a person wishing for the welfare of the self does not disregard the commands of the scriptures. He does those things prescribed by the scriptures for his status and birth. The Lord praises *Karma yōga* rather than *Karma sannyāsa*. In fine this *yōga* is as hard as any other. One has to control the senses and the internal enemies and do all

VISVARUPADARSANA

त्वमादिदेवः पुरुषः पुराणस्त्वमस्य विश्वस्य परं निधानम् ।
वेत्तासि वेद्यं च परं च धाम त्वया ततं विश्वमनन्तरूप ॥

You are the primeval God, the ancient Being, You are the supreme repository of this universe, You are the knower and the knowable, and the highest abode ; O, You of infinite form, by You is the universe pervaded.

Bhagavad Gita. XI-38.

duties—as offerings to the Lord. According to the *Gītā* all works purify the mind and prepare it for the reception of the light of wisdom. Action done without any attachment and selfishness makes the mind free from the *mala* or dirt and hence it is able to reflect the light divine — "छाया न मूर्छति मलोपहतप्रसादे। शुद्धे तु दर्पणतले सुलभावकाशा," says poet Bhavabhūti.

Another important *yōga* treated of here is the *bhakti yōga* which is well developed in the *sūtras* of *Nārada*. This *yōga* consists of complete self-surrender to the lotus-feet of the Lord without any thought of the person's separate existence. Such a *bhakta* glorifies the Lord always, strives hard to observe vows to please Him, prostrates himself before the Lord with devotion and steadfast love for Him. His love for the Lord is similar to that of a young lover for his blooming beloved. One shouts constantly, remembers the Lord with single-minded devotion day in and day out, cries for Him, sheds tears for Him and dances with joy in His company. The Lord promises that those *men* जनाः who worship Him alone, thinking of nothing else and who are ever-united with Him will receive both *yōga* and *kṣema* from Him. What a grand and magnificent charter of hope and peace the Lord has given here even to the ordinary man of the world! The Lord is so simple to attain that He avows that He will eat with pleasure whatever a true devotee offers to Him, it may be such an insignificant thing as a leaf, flower, fruit or a drop of water. The only thing that we are expected to do is to offer sincerely not ostentatiously—whatever we do, whatever we eat, whatever we offer in sacrifice and whatever austerities we practise, to the Lord. Those who worship the Lord with devotion feel identity with Him (IX-29). The Lord has given hopes even to the greatest sinners who are devoted to Him, as they become *dharmātmans* attaining peace and protection. Hence the Lord advises Arjuna to fix his mind on Him, to be devoted to Him, to worship Him and to bow to Him so that he may be completely merged in the Lord. The *Bhāgavata* speaks of nine kinds of devotion, of which Arjuna typifies that of comradeship. By devotion, says the Lord, one knows Him in truth, what and who He is; then having known Him he enters forthwith into the Supreme (XVIII-55). A true *bhakta* does all actions, taking

refuge in the Lord and by His grace attains to the eternal and indestructible state. The Lord asks Arjuna to take refuge in the Supreme Being whole-heartedly and to taste the bliss of supreme tranquillity and the highest state. According to the *Gītā* there is no special duty or work for one who has taken complete refuge in the Lord as he has lost his identity in the personality of the Lord. If he does any action for himself or for the good of the world, *lōka saṁgraha*, it is by the will of the Lord alone. When the *bhakta* does any work, it is only for the Lord, since he sees the Lord in every object of the world, just as a lovelorn person finds every thing around him as his beloved. *Bhakti* or devotion proceeds from *s'raddhā* or faith. For without your basic belief in the existence of God you can never love Him. A true devotee, therefore, knows that all that happens to him is only the fruit of his past deeds and so he is ever content. He fixes his mind and intellect on the Lord alone. He hates none, loves everybody, is forgiving and free from attachment and egoism. If *karma* purifies the mind and leads to knowledge, *bhakti* ripens the heart where the sun of knowledge shines brilliant. Accordingly it is said—भक्तिर्ज्ञानाय कल्पते—devotion ripens into knowledge.

There are certain temperaments among men which are specially suited to selfless work, there are others that are suited to devotion and yet others suited to intellectual work or ratiocination. Those that are of active habits like and adhere to the practice of *karma yōga*, whereas those of an emotional type are fit for the cult of *bhakti*. Those that are intellectually strong and whose approach to all problems is intellectual are fit for the *jñāna yōga* through enquiries like "who am I ?", "what is the ultimate reality ?", "what is this visible world ?", "what is my relationship with the world and the creator ?" In the *Chāndogyopaniṣat* we read "In the beginning there was one without a second .... All this universe is the nature of that. That is true. That is the Self. That art thou, Oh Svētakētu." The *Gītā* too says in VII-18 "ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम् ।" The wise man is 'verily My own Self.' Again the Lord says that He is the father of this world, the mother, protector, grandfather, the one to be known, the purifier, the syllable *Om* and also the Vedas. Īs'vara, *Saguṇa Brahman*, is

the father, the *mūlaprakṛti* the mother, the pure *Satcidānanda Para Brahman* the grandfather. He alone is the Seed Imperishable. In the tenth discourse we are told that there is nothing apart from the Lord. Every thing is dependent on Him as gems are strung in a necklace. He is the '*Akāra*' in speech — अकारो वै सर्वा वाक् says the *s'ruti*. He is the Eternal Time. He is Death and Birth. He is Fame, Beauty, Memory, Intelligence, Forgiveness, etc. See what the *Saptas'ati* says in this connection—"या देवी सर्वभूतेषु बुद्धिरूपेण संस्थिता।" The *Īs'āvāsya* states that Brahman is full and the Universe too is full; the full comes out of the full; but the full remains full even after the full has come out of the full." Following this idea the *Gītā* says that the Lord supports (or has become) this whole world by one part of His. Here, see what the *Puruṣa Sūkta* has to say—"पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि त्रिपादस्यामृतं दिवि।" Following the line of thought of the *Kenopaniṣad* the *Gītā* enunciates the nature of the soul thus—"The *Ātman* is very subtle. It is beyond the reach of speech and mind. It is eternal, all pervading, stable and ancient." It is not an object of preception. It is changeless and immutable. The soul is never born, nor does it ever die.

Brahman has three aspects, *viz.* the Transcendental (तमसः परस्तात्), the Immanent (अहमात्मा गुडाकेशा सर्वभूताशयस्थितः) and the Emergent. He is both mind and ego when immanent. When he becomes the soul, He enjoys the objects of the senses by directing the senses and the mind. The *Gītā* also speaks of God emergent as seen in the *avataras* — यदा यदा हि धर्मस्य...संभवाम्या त्ममायया। Though the Lord is undivided, yet He is divided, as it were, among all beings. As knowledge, the object of knowledge and the aim of knowledge, He is set firm in the hearts of all (XIII-16). He sees without eyes, hears without ears, smells without nose...... walks without feet. "He is the unseen seer, the unheard hearer, the unthought of thinker. Other than Him there is no seer, no hearer, no thinker. He is the self, the Inner Ruler, the Immortal" (*Br. Up.* III-7-23). Though he is free from qualities, yet He is the enjoyer of all qualities. The supreme spirit in the body witnesses, supports and enjoys things. When the spirit is released from egoism and ignorance, it is released from bondage even while living inside the body. All the actions of

such a person are meant to help humanity. Arjuna and S'rī Kṛṣṇa represent the individual soul and the Supreme Being respectively. The former eats the sweet pippala fruits and is deluded, and grieves for his want of strength. He realizes his mistake and the secret of his being, only when S'rī Kṛṣṇa teaches him gradually the nature of the world, the beings, soul and *Brahman*.

It is the Lord Himself that has become the *prakṛti*. This has two forms—the lower and the higher. The former consists of eight things — भिन्ना प्रकृतिरष्टधा। The mind, reason and egoism are only His lower nature. If we want to realize the self, we must rise above these things. The higher *prakṛti* is the *jīva* (life-element) by which the universe is upheld. As *puruṣa* also the lord has three aspects: the *kṣara*, *akṣara* and *puruṣōttama*. *Kṣara* is all the beings with their birth, infancy, adolescence, youth, old age and death, and the innumerable changes wrought by growth, decay and disease. *Akṣara* or the *avyakta* is the immanent God in all beings, seated firmly, veiled in mystery. The last one is beyond even the *avyakta* and is the Supreme Spirit. He pervades all, sustaining everything, indestructible, transcending the changing and the unchanging. The symbolism of the worship of God as the five elements explains his worship in an ascending manner as that of his lower *prakṛti*, higher *prakṛti*, *kṣarabhāva*, *akṣarabhāva* and *puruṣottamabhāva*.

To understand the real nature of the self one should go to a worthy *guru* who initiates him into the mysteries of the self, provided the pupil has the proper *s'raddhā*, humility, servitude and enquiring tendency. The touch of the *guru* will destroy the confusion of error in the disciple. He will then behold the underlying basic unity and directly cognize through intuition that all beings from *Brahman* down to grass exist in his own self and also in the Lord (XVIII-20). One can cross the ocean of sins by the raft of the knowledge of the self. Just as the seeds that are fried cannot germinate, even so the actions that are burnt by the fire of knowledge cannot bring fruits, *i.e.* cannot bring the man to this world again. When there is no agency mentality, when there is no desire for fruits, action is no action at all. According to S'rī Śaṁkarācārya the fire of knowledge burns even *prārabdha*

karma. The second chapter of the *Gītā* expounds the nature and activities of the man of knowledge. The *yōga* of wisdom is indeed superior to action. One who is endowed with this *yōga* casts off both good and evil deeds. Dwelling in union with the Supreme he performs actions with a balanced mind, with the conviction that the *guṇas* act upon *guṇas* and that he is only an unconcerned witness of the play of *prakṛti.* Just as *karma-yōgins* do, so too the *jñānins* give up all thoughts of the fruits of actions. The wise one who has no desires whatsoever is content with his own self in which he is well established. He is not affected by the pairs of opposites, as he identifies himself with *Brahman* alone. He is able to withdraw his senses from mundane objects by his mere will. The greatest obstacles to self-realisation are desire, anger, delusion and greed which destroy discrimination. The man of wisdom can be recognized by his serene countenance caused by his self-discipline and absence of *rāga* and *dveṣa.* That which is real for the ignorant is illusion to the sage and *vice versa.* The wise one is rooted in the *Brahmic* state. What is his attitude towards the world and its activities ? The sage has to gain nothing by practising *karma.* Yet he does actions for the sake of *lōka saṁgraha.* His conduct is an example for the laity. The Lord says accordingly that though he need not do any work, still he is engaged in it in order to set a good example to the world and to ward off *varna saṅkara* — race admixture. He does actions, offering them to *Brahman* and abandoning attachment. He looks alike on a Brāhmana of learning, a cow, an elephant, a dog and an outcaste. Such a person is *jīvanmukta* and becomes *Brahman* himself. For the Lord says — ज्ञानी त्वात्मैव मे मतम्।

The Lord speaks of *rāja yōga* also as one of the means of union with the Supreme Self. The *yōgins* control their mind, intellect and the senses by controlling the breath through the merger of the sub-*prāṇās* in the chief *prāṇa.* While practising *prāṇāyāma* they control their food also. The *yōgin* is advised to select a proper place for his meditation which leads to *ātma-vis'uddhi,* purification of the mind. He fixes his gaze at the tip of the nose with a tranquil mind, observing celibacy and thinking of the Lord alone. Such a person will be able to fix his *prāṇa* in

between the eye-brows in *yōga* at the time of death and to reach the Supreme *puruṣa*. At first he practises concentration on the lower *cakras*, viz. *mūlādāra*, *svādhiṣṭhāna* and *maṇipura*. Then he fixes his attention on the *anāhata*, the lotus of the heart. Then he takes the *prāṇa* through the *suṣumnā* and fixes it in the middle of the eye-brows. The Lord advises people to utter the syllable ओम् with the mind fixed on him at the time of leaving the mortal coils, so that they may attain to the Supreme Goal.

God's grace is a very important matter referred to in the *Gītā*. Arjuna was unable to understand the *vībhūtīs* of the Lord and so the Lord gave him a divine vision whereby Arjuna was able to see the Lord's cosmic Form—योगमैश्वरम्। This was a special gift that the Lord bestowed on Arjuna, but he was not quite fit to receive that vision which frightened him a bit. Hence he asked the Lord to withdraw the terrific form and to show him again His usual graceful and pleasing form. There is a similar incident in the life of Svāmi Vivēkānanda. In the initial stage of his contact with S'rī Rāmakrishna Paramahaṁsa once Narendra (Vivēkānanda) was asked to sit on the saint's cot. Therupon the saint who was in an ecstatic mood slowly placed his foot on Narendra's chest, which threatened to put him into *samādhi*. As it was a new experience, the young man cried aloud in fright and then S'rī Rāmakrishna rubbed his chest with his hand remarking, "All right. Let it rest now." From this it may be clear that the Lord's grace will enable one to taste the nectar of the vision of the cosmic form but once, but, for a continuous vision of that form the person ought to develop by personal effort and *guru's* guidance, his inner capacity and intuitional efficiency. Arjuna was able to know and to see in reality ज्ञातुं द्रष्टुं च तत्वेन but not to merge in the Lord प्रवेष्टुम् as he had not yet developed his eligibility for it.

Before the advent of the *Gītā* people were engaged more in rituals than in understanding the secret of life. These formal rituals must have been the object of attack by atheists and other non-Vedic sects. The object of the incarnation of Lord S'rī Kṛṣṇa was to re-establish the fundamental truths of Hinduism on a stable and scientific as well as appealing basis. The *Gītā* has thoroughly

revolutionized the idea of sacrifice — यज्ञ. Here it stands for the sacrifice of the pleasures of the senses, of wealth, sacrifice of knowledge by disseminating the great truths, sacrifice of food etc. This ideal sacrifice is the wish-yielding tree, it is the philosopher's stone. It is the basis for mutual help and co-operation between not only men but also between men and gods. It is declared that there is neither this world nor the other for non-sacrificers. If one wants to live, one must be prepared to lay down his life.

S'rī Kṛṣṇa advises people not to go against the injunctions of the *s'āstras*, because they are the authorities to be followed by them in matters of doubt. But later he advises Arjuna to rise above the three *guṇas*, because the *ātman* cannot be gained by preaching, intellectual efforts or *s'āstric* knowledge. Just as princes go well attired to the *svayaṁvara manṭapa* with the idea of winning the bride, even so *sādhakas* should prepare themselves to receive the grace of the *ātman*.

The Lord then extolls the *sāttvika* type of food, penance, charity, worship and sacrifice. But nobody can go against his own nature. He can, however, improve and rectify it by constant efforts and prayers. We have to learn a number of lessons from the *Gītā*. People make charities in order to get fame and power. Such charities will not yield any spiritual effect. All sacrifices, austerities and charities should be done with the recitation '*Om Tat Sat*,' in order to lead to liberation. These three acts ought not to be given up, because they purify the wise. In the opinion of the Lord there is very little difference between *tyāga* and *sannyāsa*—the one being abadonment of the fruits of all actions and the other that of acts prompted by desire. So an ascetic ought to specialize both in *tyāga* and in *sannyāsa*. It is this *tyāga* that brings in its wake peace *par excellence*.

The Lord teaches us the method of the 'golden mean.' He says, " Do not starve yourself completely nor ever overeat yourself. Do not sleep too long keep nor vigil for long hours."

The tolerant outlook which pervades the pages of this work, the *Gītā*, is the most significant contribution of Hinduism to world-thought and world-culture. You are not forced to worship any particular deity. Every person worships some deity or other

according to his own taste or nature. But the Lord vouchsafes His grace even unto them ; though they may not worship him as *Vāsudeva*. After all, our culture has taught us to be happy under the guiding priciple of "सर्वदेव नमस्कारः केशवं प्रतिगच्छति।"

What is the opinion of the *Gīta* on 'Fate and Free Will'? The Lord says in III-33 "What shall restraint avail? — निग्रहः किं करिष्यति। If *prakṛti* is all-powerful, what is the use of our attempt at controlling the mind through *Sādhana?* Immediately the Lord silences us by asking us to raise ourselves by our own efforts, as the self alone is the friend of the self. He adds that though his *māyā* is hard to cross, yet those who surrender themselves unto Him will get over that *māyā*. He asks us to endeavour constantly to achieve control over the mind. All these show that the *Gītā* ideal is a *via media* between fate and free will.

There is plenty of food for thought for the followers of all the systems of philosophy, *Dvaita*, *Vis'iṣṭādvaita* and *Advaita*. These systems are not contradictory but supplementary, as S'rī Rāmakrishna says. When we identify ourselves with the bodies, we say that we are the servants of the Lord ; when we feel that we are the individual souls, we say that we are but parts of Him and when we realise that we are the self, we say 'Thou and I are one.' When the devotee's love for the lord increases gradually, it reaches a stage when the master and servant become one and the same.

The Lord has not divided the *yōgas* mentioned above into water-tight compartments. When He speaks of knowledge, He does not exclude devotion and action. For He says—तेषां ज्ञानी नित्ययुक्तः एकभक्तिर्विशिष्यते। This means that the wise is one who is engaged in *karma yōga* and has single-minded devotion is the best of all. Just as we speak of a person's *guṇa* on account of the predominance of a particular quality over the others, even so emphasis is laid here on one of the three *yōgas*. Hence knowledge is not absent in a *bhakta* or *karma yōgin*. Similarly a *jñānin* is found to be engaged in *lōka saṁgraha* and also in devotion to the Lord. In the great *Advaitin* S'rī S'aṁkaracārya we find great devotion to Hari, S'iva and the Divine Mother. He prays in one place, यद्यपि भेदापगमे नाथ तवाहं न मामकीनस्त्वम्।

सामुद्रो हि तरङ्गः क्वचन समुद्रो न तारङ्गः". Another *Advaitin* sang thus: अद्वैत वीथीपथिकै रुपास्याः स्वाराज्यसिंहासनलब्धदीक्षाः। शठेन केनापि वयं हठेन दासीकृता गोपवधूविटेन॥ S'ri S'aṁkara did not sit quiet in one and the same place plunged in the bliss of his own self, but he did intense work in order to uproot false ideas of *dharma* and truth and to establish *maṭhas* and temples of learning in different parts of the country. So too was S'rī Rāmakrishna a confluence of the three streams of *jñāna*, *bhakti* and *karma*. Bhagavan Ramaṇa Maharṣi who was a great *jñānin* would do manual labour, tend the cows, squirrels, etc. and cut vegetables in the kitchen. His love for the animals was extraordinary. He shed tears, when some monkeys brought the dead body of a monkey that had been killed by some one to his presence and cried. His devotion to Lord Aruṇācalēs'vara was indescribable. For, when the procession of the Lord passed by the *āsrama*, he is reported to have remarked with great emotion in his heart and tears in his eyes, "The son is but a part of the father."

The object of the Lord in teaching the 'Song Celestial' to Arjuna is to tell the people of the world that they could choose any path to reach Him according to their personal capacity and aptitude, but they should follow that path with sincerity and steadfastness, with faith in themselves, their choice and the Lord. If that is done, the Lord will do the rest for them. They should not quarrel with others as to which of the paths is the easiest and the best. What is good for one may be bad for another. He asks us also to keep to our *dharma*, though it may not appear to be very attractive and popular. This will give a warning to those that are bent upon changing the social structure by legislation. In the words of Svāmi Vivēkānanda social reform should be left to the sages and saints who have acquired a spiritual sanction for such a work. In short the *yōga* that is preached by the *Gītā* is one of harmony, adaptability or equanimity. In other words, it is unity in diversity. It is to become God from the stage of the brute by gradual evolution. It is to rise from the abysmal depths of ignorance, greed, hatred and passion to the pinnacle of self-realization. It is to go up from the tips of the scattered branches of the sacred *As'vattha* to the end of its top-root. It is to go from unreality to

reality, from darkness to light and from mortality to immortality. Such is the wonderful synthesis we get in the *Gītā*. The gospel of the *Bhagavad Gītā* is the reconcilation between the human and the divine, between polytheism and monism, between secularity and spirituality, between action and inaction, between *pravṛtti* and *nivṛtti*, between *bhōga* and *tyāga*, between war and peace, between shade and light and between the practical and the ideal. May the Mother *Gītā* so much loved by the great *karma yōgin*, Mahatmā Gāndhi guide us properly through this ocean of our worldly existence.

ॐ तत्सत्.

THE MESSAGE OF THE GITA *

By K. Guru Dutt

Unquestionably, the *Bhagavad Gītā* is the most popular amongst Indian scriptures, not only in our own country, but also abroad, as innumerable translations in foreign languages testify. Perhaps it is the one Indian text which is fairly well-known in the West. The reasons for this vogue are not far to seek. Short and simple in style and expression, it is the quintessence of Indian doctrine in all its manifoldness. As the traditional *Gītā dhyāna* puts it poetically, the *Gītā* is the rich milk of the cows known as the *Upaniṣads*, drawn by the Divine Cowherd, ostensibly for the sake of Arjuna, but really meant to be drunk by all thoughtful men.

Despite its apparent simplicity, or possibly on that very account, the *Gītā* has lent itself to a multiplicity of interpretations since time immemorial. S'aṁkara's commentary starts with the avowed objective of correcting prevalent misinterpretations. Every commentator since then has, each according to his own lights, entertained the same purpose. This has continued right down to modern times. As foreign observers have often noticed, every thoughtful Indian seems to feel the call to write his own commentary on the *Gītā*, instead of attempting any original work. Although this is intended as a criticism, there is much to be said for an attitude which seeks to relate itself organically to an honoured framework of thought, rather than aim at a dubious originality. It may be said that the *Gītā* stands in need of such re-interpretation from time to time, from temperament to temperament and from individual to individual. So, the Message of the *Gītā* is not one which can be formulated dogmatically once and for all. It can be put only suggestively with a variety of qualifications and safeguards, which take due account of the human context.

The *Gītā* not only needs continual re-interpretation, but can also stand it. It invites such an approach. There is a plasticity

* Lecture delivered at the Mythic Society on 17-12-1954.

about its structure, a flexibility and freedom from dogmatism in its statements, which are the very characteristics of Hinduism at its best, but which have proved a stumbling block to rigid minds. To borrow a comparison from science, its make-up is not crystalline but colloidal. As is well-known, crystalline structure is the hall-mark of the inorganic world, while the amorphous colloid is the basis of organism and life.

In keeping with this, the *Gītā* allows and even advocates a wide freedom of approach. As is said (IV. 11): "By whatever path men may seek me, even so do I welcome them, for all paths are mine." This is the principle on which the basic Hindu doctrine of *Iṣṭa-dēvatā* rests. The teaching of the *Gītā* is also not unitary in any narrow, mechanical or logical sense. It does possess a unity of outlook, but it is not a syllogistic or mathematical unity. The unity is not on the surface, and not visible at first sight. The venerable scholar, Dr. Bhagavan Das records that in his own case, even after a third reading, the *Gītā* still appeared to him only a bundle of aphorisms, rather than a connected work, "each indubitably very valuable in itself and applicable to and helpful in different situations in life, but very disjointed and unarticulated with one another, and also quite inappropriate to the occasion on which they were uttered by Kṛṣṇa." The work itself seems to recognize this; for at the end of each chapter, the colophon does not speak of the *Gītā* in the singular, but *Gītās* in the plural, each verse being reckoned as an *Upaniṣad*. The reconciliation of the seven hundred verses of the *Gītā* is therefore to be sought through devout meditation. Their final *samanvaya* is only in the concept of Vāsudēva (VII.19). Every interpretation is an attempt at such a reconciliation.

The key to the understanding of the *Gītā* is to be found in the doctrine of *svadharma*. In a half verse which is twice repeated (III. 35 and XVIII. 47) it is emphasized that better far is one's own duty, though devoid of merit, than the duty of another well discharged. This forms the dramatic theme of the *Gītā*, where Arjuna is counselled to stick to his own duty in preference to ideals of an apparently higher order. Here again we have a fundamental platform of Hindu teaching: the concept of *adhikāra* or fitness

and aptitude, which seeks to adapt conduct to the social environment, to heredity and age: in brief the *Varṇāṣrama-dharma*. Accordingly, we have in the *Gītā* a gradation of teaching, as well as of seekers, be they *jñānis*, *bhaktās*, or *karma-yōgis*. It would be fallacious to treat each verse of the *Gītā* as if it were a universally applicable doctrine, irrespective of the personal factor. It would therefore be opposed to the spirit of the *Gītā* to assert unconditionally that it teaches only *anāsakti-yōga* or anything else exclusively.

The idea of *dharma* has as its counterpart that of *karma*, action or conduct. *Karma* is the application of *dharma*. The complexity and even ambiguity of the *Gītā* teaching can best be seen in connection with this term. The *Gītā* itself interprets the concept paradoxically: it extols him as the wise man who sees inaction in action and action in inaction (IV. 18), and in the previous two verses says that the concept of "action" is very mysterious and that even sages have been perplexed by it. The *Gītā* employs the term with varying significance according to the context. It is the attitude that is all important, as explained in another place unequivocally: it is the *visarga* that determines the constitution of beings (VIII. 3).

Whenever the *Gītā* speaks of action as bondage, it has the commonsense attitude in view. To the sage, action ceases to be bondage. Outwardly, there can be no criterion for distinguishing the two types of action. The distinction is wholly inward. The ambiguity of this concept has led to highly conflicting interpretations: on the one side we have S'aṁkara who makes *karma*, Public Enemy Number One, and on the other, Tilak who would make the *Gītā* exclusively *karma yōga-s'āstra*, interpreting the term literally. In between, may be placed Gāndhiji's understanding of the *Gītā* as wholly allegorical in order to secure alignment with his cardinal tenet of non-violence.

The *Gītā* itself offers an intermediate concept which functions as a bridge between the two antithetical notions. The mediation is effected by the process known as *yajña*. In a manner of speaking, the liberalized and extended idea of *yajña* is perhaps the most distinctive teaching of the *Gītā*. *Yajña* is the symbolic or

sacramental employment of action whereby action ceases to be a bondage (III.9). There is endless option in regard to the manner in which action can be converted into *yajña* (IV.32). *Yajña* operates in the field of *bhāvanā* an untranslatable word. A mutual *bhāvanā*-tension is established in this field of force between the worshipper and the worshipped, yielding results. *Yajña* is efficacious as well as obligatory. To seek to attain the normal ends of life in any other way is sinful, even the cooking and partaking of food as for the self (III.13).

The worship of the numerous aspects of deity in the shape of the Vedic gods is not condemned, although at the proper stage it is sought to be transcended. Sāyaṇa's description of the Veda as teaching *pāralaukika* means for the attainment of human desires and the warding off of evils finds support here. *Karma* in the technical sense (*S'rauta, Smārta*) is stated here to have its origin in the Veda (*Brahma*) which itself has its source in the *akṣara* (III.5). Thus the idea of *yajña* is always intimately linked with that of *Brahma*. The true rationale of *yajña* is explained in the Eighth Chapter, which propounds *puruṣa* (person in the inclusive sense) as the sphere of *yajña* (*adhiyajña*) as well as the support of the gods (*adhidaivatam*). This realization leads to the infinite extension of experience (*lōka saṁgraha*), or in other words a fuller perception of the glories of the Supreme Person. Such a vision is described, for example, in the Eleventh Chapter (*Vis'varūpa-dars'ana*).

The cosmos in which *yajña* is effective is radically different from what modern science pictures it to be. A continuous interaction is posited between the microcosm (*piṇḍa*) and the macrocosm (*brahmāṇḍa*). Its most compact presentation is in III. 14 where rain is said to be produced from *yajña*. This is fundamentally in line with the Vedic conception of *ṛta*, which subsumes cosmic as well as moral order in its broad sweep. To try to appreciate the truths of the *Gītā* or to attempt to follow them without originally subscribing to this doctrine of *ṛta*, would be vain and totally futile—*anṛta*.

Keeping all these considerations in view, the ethics of the *Gītā* would be seen in their right perspective. Here we have a threefold

classification according to the *guṇas,* in place of the naive opposition between good and evil. The essence of the moral personality is *sraddhā* (XVII.3). Here again the term has no exact equivalent. Bhagavan Das renders it as "inborn faith." It may be *sāttvic, rājasic,* or *tāmasic.* All experience is pervaded by these three strands (*guṇas*). The *Gītā* represents *jñāna, bhakti,* and *karma,* each as thus threefold. Ethical endeavour aims at the attainment of *sattva.* But before it can be attained, it has to be recognized in experience in its specificity as differing from the other two qualities. None of them is found in isolation, but always in mutual interaction. But the *Gītā* does not stop with *sattva.* That too would be a sort of bondage. *Sattva* has to be transcended and a state reached which is beyond the *guṇas.* Essentially this stage is non-ethical.

This stage is beyond all antitheses: *Nirdvandva.* It is beyond all qualities: *Nirguna.* It is from this height that even the Veda is looked down upon. This is the true balance and equilibrium (*samatva*) of the *Gītā,* which is variously described as *yōga* (III.48), which is itself said to be skill in action (II. 50). It leads to that evenness of vision known as *samadars'ana.* Here there is no "Either/Or" of action *versus* inaction, for the feeling of agency (*kartṛi-bhāva*) is itself lost. Such a harmonised person is a *yukta.* Appropriateness and moderation characterise his entire conduct and lead to the elimination of pain which is a symptom of imbalance (VI.17). The culmination of this is *samādhi,* which in the *Gītā* is not a trance condition, but a stabilization of the wavering consciousness. The stabilized person is the *sthita-prajña.* This type of *samādhi* has been termed *sahaja* elsewhere, although the word is not to be found in the *Gītā* itself.

Taken as a whole, the aim of the *Gītā* is the attainment of the rounded goal of life as adapted to the circumstances and equipment of each individual. Compendiously, this is *puruṣārtha-siddhi.* The ideal approach of a beginner to the *Gītā* would thus be to take it as a whole reverently without any critical attempt to evaluate or select. By meditative brooding one should allow one's subconscious mind to soak in its contents, and slowly make its own selection. Then the particular pattern of the teaching which most suits

the tendencies (*samskāras*) of the individual will stand out, as in a kaleidoscope, by merely patiently turning over.

Thus alone can the congenial direction be discovered, the individual and concrete message. After one has found it out for oneself, it would be foolish to generalize and claim universal applicability for it. That would be against the very spirit of the *Gītā*. The *Gītā* is suspicious of all that savours of propaganda, and cautions even a man of realization from meddling with the convictions of others (III. 26). It provides a gently graded and elastic teaching to suit all temperaments. Especially the three broad Indian types with the inclinations towards practice, devotion or knowledge. All three can find their canon and testament here.

It may safely be said that there is no such thing as *the* Message of the *Gītā*. There are as many messages as there are readers in earnest. No one will go empty-handed. Everyone will be taken by the hand and led forward, in line with his *samskāras*. The quietists as well as the activists have found their inspiration here, and all who come in between. The die-hards and the reformers, terrorists and the advocates of *ahimsā*, all have sworn by the *Gītā*. One will get there whatever one takes to it. It is the divine mirror in which every one first finds his own lineaments, but ultimately his innermost *Self*.

SECULARISM AND THE GITA ARGUMENT*

BY MASTI VENKATESA IYENGAR

I

STUDENTS of the *Bhagavad Gītā* have always noted that it is part of the addition that was made to the original *Bhārata* and that brought it in later ages the name *Mahābhārata*. The discourse of S'rī Kṛṣṇa as found in the *Gītā* would seem to have been a full statement prepared for the *Mahābhārata* of what in the *Bhārata* was in all probability brief remonstrance and counsel from a sage elder to a deeply loved and cherished junior. In later sections of the *Mahābhārata* we find brief passages repeating the situation. It is proper to assume that these brief passages were the first records of what took place when Arjuna had to begin the fight and found himself in a crisis in his life. The occasion was used by the author of the *Mahābhārata* for preparing the full *Gītā* statement of a great sage's teachings for the moral guidance of all men.

In preparing this full statement the author of the *Bhagavad Gītā* had to create dramatic details of a situation justifying the details of the statement itself. In the *Bhagavad Gītā* as we have it today, we find a number of points which are correct within the framework of the book but not in the context of the *Mahābhārata*.

One important point of this kind is the character ascribed to Arjuna in the *Gītā*. Kṛṣṇa makes a significant position in his argument and tells Arjuna that he taught the same thing to Vivasvat and Vivasvat taught it to Manu and Manu to Ikṣvāku and that this lesson came into the lives of many royal sages and was then lost. Arjuna says in reply: "How, Kṛṣṇa, could you have taught this to Vivasvat? You are of recent birth and Vivasvat was ages ago." The question is quite proper if we forget who Arjuna was. But it we remember that Arjuna was a close and devoted companion of S'rī Kṛṣṇa nearly all through his

* Outline of a lecture delivered at the Mythic Society on 15-12-1954.

life and knew who Kṛṣṇa was the question becomes incorrect. In *Vanaparvan* Chapter Thirteen is a situation in which Arjuna states what he knew of Kṛṣṇa. Kṛṣṇa was *Kṣētrajña*, the beginning and the end and *sanātana*. He was Nārāyaṇa and Hari and Brahma, Sōma, Sūrya, Dharma, Dhāta, Yama and all the great principles of existence and beyond. He had been born as the child of Aditi and become Trivikrama: and at the end of the æons he contracts all creation and makes it part of himself.

How could Arjuna who knew this put the naive question which we find in the *Bhagavad Gītā*? Later in the discourse, the same Arjuna asks to be taught the meanings and nature of *prakṛti*, *puruṣa*, *kṣētra*, *kṣētrajña*, *jñāna* and *jñēya*. The question which starts the Seventeenth Chapter of the *Bhagavad Gītā* and induces the discourse on *s'raddhā* is similar.

II

Only the fact of the growth of an earlier *Bhārata* into the *Mahābhārata* and the expansion of an earlier *Gītā* into the present *Bhagavad Gītā* would explain the manner in which the argument of the *Gītā* develops. That argument in the early stages of the discourse is purely secular The assumption of divinity by Kṛṣṇa further on would clearly appear to be a later development. It has been suggested that in the *Bhārata* Kṛṣṇa was conceived as a great man and yet only as a man. The idea of incarnation came in when the expansion into *Mahābhārata* took place. A passage that supports this view of the conception of Kṛṣṇa's character is that in which Kṛṣṇa and Vidura discuss the propriety of Kṛṣṇa approaching Duryodhana as a seeker of peace. This passage is one of the most moving in the whole text of the *Mahābhārata*. (*Udyōgaparvan*: *Adhyāya* 91; Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona Edition).

The Kṛṣṇa who speaks in this passage is no self-conscious and all-powerful divinity but a being far worthier of worship: a great man who looked on all life with tenderness and submitted to humility by opponents in an attempt to prevent the heartless massacre of men and animals by the million that a war would involve.

III

Certain passages within the *Bhagavad Gītā* itself suggest that the *Bhagavad Gītā* is a blend of these two views of Kṛṣṇa as a noble-hearted man and incarnation of divinity. Two such passages may be noted. In the Eighteenth Chapter of the *Bhagavad Gītā* the argument leads Kṛṣṇa to say that Īs'vara dwells in the heart of all living beings and moves them through his *māyā*. 'Take refuge in Him,' says Kṛṣṇa : that is to say, in the situation in which you find yourself, listen to the voice of the highest in you and you will receive guidance. This is in the *Bhārata* vein. Soon after this Kṛṣṇa says : 'Abandon all *dharma* and take refuge in Me.' This is clearly the *Mahābhārata* vein. The whole argument of the *Bhagavad Gītā* is meant to inculcate performance of *dharma*. Besides, one should perform it without thought of profit and loss and pleasure and pain and purely and strictly because it is duty which devolves on a man in the context of his life. Death in the performance of your task in life is preferable to the successful performance of something else even beautiful. Yet in the verse asking Arjuna to take refuge in Him Kṛṣṇa tells him to denounce all *dharma*. It is difficult to reconcile the emphasis on *dharma* and the performance of duty in defiance of consequences with this advice to Arjuna to abandon *dharma*.

It is of course easy to equate "Īs'vara" and "I" in the first case, and in the second case, to say that when one takes refuge in the highest all *dharma* is included in it ; but this is rather facile. That of course is the way to reconcile the text when we have to take it as a whole but the feeling persists that as first conceived the passages took birth from different notions.

IV

It would thus appear that the teacher gave the secular side of the argument and felt that teaching founded on mere reason would be shaky and lack a basis. To give this basis and to make it wide and firm he connected life on earth with what lies beyond and in doing so brought in religion, *Brahman* and the universal soul came in and the doctrine of action as a way of worship. To make the idea of the god-head intelligible the teacher had to bring in

philosophy and expound the conditions which give action the highest beauty of which it is capable. As it was still necessary to connect the universal soul and individual life and show that the former was not something detached and far away but eternally present with the individual every moment of its existence, the teacher made Kṛṣṇa the noblest human of whom he could conceive and put into his mouth words positing identity between himself and the highest.

"Man should live well." "What is well?" "Unselfishly." "Why should he?" "Because in doing so he satisfies the demands of the highest part of his nature." "It is hard." "Yes, but equally worthwhile. Here he will reap a joy that lower living can never bring. Attempt the highest and die: that is better than attempting something lower and winning." This is true success in life or in death, and steadfast adherence to it leads to the highest good alike to the individual and the group and the whole universe.

This is secularism at the highest. It is philosophy at the wisest. It is religion at the most mystic. Each life in this world can be lived to fullest purpose only with reference to something beyond: and the span of time between birth and death that men call life will get its fullest meaning only when it links worthily that which went before and that which comes after.

A CENTRAL ASIAN STUDY

Khorezm (or Khwerism), The Land of the Sun
The Garden of Eden

BY RAJASEVAPRASAKTA R. N. MIRZA, A.M.I.C.E.

I THINK one can safely say that every one of us is familiar with the term "the Garden of Eden", and instinctively thinks of a certain location in Central Asia, lying north of the "Pamirs," which mountains (part of the Himālayas) are often referred to as the BAM-I-DUNIAH, the roof of the world.* All of us at school had something to learn about this locality south of and adjoining a gigantic lake (about one hundred and fifty miles long and one hundred miles wide) known as the Sea of ARAL. Simply to refresh the memory, I mention that the existence of this gigantic lake is entirely due to its being fed by two great rivers, the Amu Daria and the Syr Daria, which flow northwards into a desert from the mountains known as Pamirs and as Paropamissus to the Greeks, and the Hindukush range which form a watershed between the basins of the Amu Daria and the Indus.

One of the difficulties encountered by the average reader for the study of Central Asia is that he would be called upon to recognise the same cities, rivers, and important historical personages, by three different kinds of names, the archaic as in the Avesta, the old Persian or Arabic or Greek and the modern. For instance, the river Amu Daria is known as the Oxus, Ochus, Jihun, Wakhsu, etc. and the Syr Daria is known as IAXARTES. Proper names of great personages in the Zoroastrian scriptures also got changed into different names as centuries rolled by. One has therefore to be careful that as an author he does not at the outset pour out a mass of variety of names and thus somehow indirectly diminish the zest of the average reader.

We have to start our subject with a very brief summary of the history preceding the advent of Zoroaster, the prophet of the

* Its Latitude is round about 42° and Longitute round about 61°

present day Parsis and the great Sage of Iran. What are our sources? First and foremost are the scriptures themselves, because in them we find a wealth of accurate information. The archaic language has been translated, during these last one hundred and fifty years, by learned men whose laborious task of deciphering should never be forgotten. There have come, also, a series of intrepid British, German, French and Russian explorers whose archæological skill and science have laid bare for us proofs of historical events mentioned in the scriptures and in the ancient historical records. I do not like to miss this opportunity of recording here the names of at least a few of the many great leaders of explorations (some of whom have passed away), who have risked their lives and health in their intrepid efforts. They are: Sir Aurel Stein of India, who explored the great desert of Gobi, the Pamirs and Iran and actually located the hill of KUH-I-KHWAJA in Seistan where Zoroaster preached, and established in Delhi the Central Asian Museum of Antiquities.

Among the Germans we have Richtofen and Grunwedel, Herzfeld and Le Coq. Pelliot Ghirshman of France. Americans, Upham Pope, Schmidt, Jackson, etc. There were, and are, the Russians: Przhevalski, Kozlov, Koropatikin and the devoted band of Russian explorers under the leadership of the learned Professor T. S. Tolstov, representing the Academy of sciences U.S.S.R.

Apart from this, we have to dig into the records left to us by many famous Arabic, Persian and Chinese historians, of whom to mention three names, (1) Athar-Ul-Bakya, better known as Al'Biruni who wrote his famous book *Chronology of Ancient Nations*. For his wisdom and learning I compare him to Plato. (2) The great Firdausi who wrote the immortal *Shāhnāmeh*. I think everyone knows this great work and it needs no introduction. His Persian has been translated into English by Warner Brothers and also portions by Mathew Arnold and Atkinson, and by one or two others. (3) While omitting innumerable other Arabic writers I feel I must mention one name **ABU BAKR MAHUMED IBN JA'FAR AL NARSHAKI** (943 A.D.). Dr. Richard N. Frye of the Harvard University has recently translated his work " History of Bukhara " into English.

I will digress here for a moment. When we go to a theatre to see a play, we generally buy a programme, to aid us to understand the play, unless we happen to be perfectly familiar with the plot beforehand. It is possible that a Parsi reader may recognise the names and the scenes, but it would be unfair to expect the uninitiated to know the names and characters of the *dramatis personæ* on the stage, because after all as Shakespeare says in *The Merchant of Venice* Act 1, Scene 1,

"I hold the world, but as the world, Gratiano:
"A stage where every man must play a part."

Our programme tells you that the setting will be the country south of Lake Aral (*vide*. Plate I. Map) and lying between the great rivers Oxus (Amu Daria) and Syr Daria, and north of Balkh or Bakhdi (Afghanistan) and nearabouts Samarkand, Bukhara, Khiva, Turtkul and also near the locality now known as Siestan (See map).

Time: The dawn of history, may be two thousand or three thousand, or five thousand B.C. (it does not matter). The plot is laid in Khorezm. The feud is between the Āryans and the Turanians, that is between folks devoted to agriculture and husbandry against the restless nomads from the east whose chief occupation was to swoop down riding on fleet horses and loot.

As it is today, even in those days, transport stood for "half the victory" and so, fleet horses (**ASPS**) meant everything to the people of those ancient days. A whole string of Iranian names for people, rivers end in the termination "*asp*." It was the existence of the splendid horses that inspired the nomads to invent the game of Polo. (Tibetan word *Pulu*; the root of the *Willow* tree.)

Many scholars have explained that both the groups were Iranians, the sole difference being that the sedentary people were the Iranians and the nomads were the Tours or Turkomans.

One who reads the most ancient historical literature soon realizes and comes to the conclusion that the conception of what is known as *Dualism* (about which volumes have been written) pervaded the minds of the human race, even ten thousand years ago. We will have an opportunity to touch upon this further on.

Now who are the *dramatis personæ* on the great stage? On

the Iranian side we have King Kaikaus (or as in Avesta Kaviusan), Zal, Rustom, Tehmina, Sohrab made immortal by Firdausi and Mathew Arnold and Atkinson.

The villain of the piece is Afrasiab (or as in Avesta Frangrasyan) who is the Turanian leader and plunderer. The hero of the piece is Prince Siawush, the son of Kaikaus. My story, perhaps romantic, as some may call it, develops the theme round this prince and not without a reason.

A critic may say " what is the good of talking about legendary heroes and myths ? " To him I respectfully recommend a glance at the book "*Introduction to a Science of Mythology* " by Jung and Keren. On page 5 we read " Mythology, like the severed head of Orpheus, goes on singing in death and from afar. In its lifetime, among the peoples where it was indigenous, it was not only sung like a kind of music, it was also lived."

If you are interested further, there are many books available for perusal. I just mention a few. The *Shāhnāmeh ; Al'Biruni* ; Benjamin : *Persia* ; Jackson : *Persia* ; Ghirshman : *Iran*; J. B. Sanjana : *Ancient Persia* and innumerable other excellent books ; but I must mention the Russian book by Professor Sergei Tolstov, who has recently carried out extensive explorations for the Russian Government in this area.

Copious information is available in the French, English, Russian and German books, but the difficulty of the average reader is the non-accessibility to such learned literature (sometimes heavy tomes, perhaps each book costing Rs. 150/-), and I have myself suffered difficulties and loss of time in obtaining historical and archæological books from libraries situated in various parts of India. One has to work hard in correspondence and spend a certain amount of money, to get into touch with these books.

What was the religion in those days prior to Zoroaster ? It was animistic and totemic. **MONOTHEISM HAD NOT YET ARRIVED**. The community was divided in what the Russian Professor Tolstov describes as *Fratryae* which can be usefully interpreted in English as clans, like the old families of Scotland. Each clan had its own king-priest, who sported his special totem (1) the Ox, (2) the Horse, and (3) the Snake. A curious perpetu-

ation of the Ox clan can be seen even today in the head of the mace which we find in the inner room of the Zoroastrian fire temple. The great Iranian hero Rustom is also shown on ancient frescoes as holding the bull-headed mace. The clans had names like Kavis, Karapans, Usijs, and we may have to come to this later on, but for the present I invite reference to pages 83, 140, 174, 357, 375 and 379 of that remarkable book *Early Zoroastrianism* by Reverend James Moulton who once lectured in Bombay and who was later drowned on the ill-fated P. & O. liner "S. S. Arabia" when it was torpedoed in the first World War.

Let us now recount in the briefest possible way, the life of that romantic figure, prince Siawush.

Siawush (or Siawurshan as in the Avesta) was the son and heir of the great king Kaikaus (Kaiyanian dynasty). He was brought up in the custody of the great Iranian hero Rustom who lived in Seistan. It may surprise many of our readers but Zarang or Siestan or Zahidan can be reached even today by the Pakistan railway connection between Quetta and by Air it is one hop from Bombay *en route* to Tehran. He was the prince charming, supposed to be perfect in all manly qualities. Those were the days of jealousy and great intrigue; and when his relatives soon hatched a vicious and wicked plot against him, to prove his innocence his father ordered that in the presence of the multitude, he had to ride through a gigantic pyre of raging fire on his black charger. This episode has captured the imagination of many historians, ancient and modern (Firdausi and Professor Tolstov). Then, to read to you, just a few lines from the *Shāhnāmeh*:

"'His steed took to the fire.'
"From every side the flames closed over his head,
"And none could see his helmet or his horse,
"While all the plain wept tears of blood and asked:
"How will he ever issue from the flames?
"The noble hero nathless reappeared,
"With rosy cheeks and smiles upon his lips.
"A roar went up as men caught sight of him;
"They cried 'The young Shah cometh from the fire:'

" He came with the horse and raiment such that thou
" Hadst said : 'He beareth jasmine in his breath.' "

And so, the beautiful poetic lines continue and delight the reader. [See page 220 Warner's translation, published by Kegan Paul, 1906].

The learned Professor Sergei Tolstov has devoted pages to this prince in his splendid Russian book entitled *Ancient Khorezm,* magnificently illustrated. On page 171 in his 352 page book (11 inches by 8½ inches) he heads his Chapter IV as *The Horseman of Khorzem* referring to Siawush.

To cut the story short, the prince led an army under the generalship of Rustom, against Afrasiab, the Turani, who reigned in the country surrounding Bakhdi or Balkh.

Those who have read Lord Curzon's (Viceroy of India, 1897-1905) book *Russia in Central Asia* will remember the following words : " Leaving Samarkand on the north-east, we skirt the hill Tehupan-Ata once crowned by the great observatory of Ulug Beg .... and pass at no great distance from the mass of crumbling tumuli and mound that marks the site of an ancient city associated with the legendary hero Afrasiab." [Page 235].

Fate had decreed some very strange things to happen. [For greater details see pages, 68-81, Benjamin's *Persia,* or pages 80 to 87 *Ancient Persia and the Paris* by Jehangir B. Sanjana (Bombay)].

Afrasiab begins to change his views, relents and offering complete peace, invites Siawush to his stronghold and treats him lavishly as an honoured guest. Listening to the advice of his wise counsellor Piran, bestows his lovely daughter Ferenguiz in marriage to Siawush. I would like to mention that Ferenguiz becomes a devoted wife and sticks to her husband to the last. " Soon after the event, the king appointed Siawush as the Governor of one of his larger provinces and Siawush founded the cities of Siawushgird and Gang-i-Siawush, the latter celebrated by the poet Firdausi as one of the most delightful spots in the East." [Benjamin and J. B. Sanjana]. I mention that this locality named Kangat or Kangdez we find actually mentioned in the most ancient Avestic prayer named **AVAN YASHT** or **ARDVI SURA BANU YASHT, FIFTH YASHT XIV (54)** and also in the

para or section 9 in prayers to be recited in memory of the departed. Reference is also invited to page 189, Volume II, Warner Brothers' translation of *Shāhnāmeh* of Firdausi (1906) or the Russian books of Professor Tolstov, or on page 67 of the Sacred Books of the East (J. Darmesteter), Volume XXIII, part II.

Professor Tolstov and his staff have carried out extensive archæological explorations in this locality and at great depths unearthed and brought to light the ruins of enclosures where the sacred fire was burnt and where people lived.

To continue the story, one would think that the couple lived happily ever afterwards; but fate had decided that it was not to be so. Slander, jealousy, malice, intrigue, soon whispered into the ears of Afrasiab (the Turanian) against the Iranian, and Afrasiab's wicked brother Guersiwez lured Siawush into a trap, threw him into a dungeon of his own palace, and then "Afrasiab ordered Guersiwez to...........drag Siawush by his hair to a distant place, and cut off his head over a golden bowl into which his blood was allowed to flow. He then emptied the bowl in a place where he had been directed to take it. On the spot where the blood of this pious prince was poured, sprang up a plant which is known as Khuné Shiawarsan, or *Pare-i-Siawushan*, and is *believed to possess wonderful virtues*." [page 85 of Mr. J. B. Sanjana's]. And what is more. **It does.** How do we know? Our learned friend, Professor Shustary (well-known in the Mysore State and North India) told me that this fern is used even today in Iran for medical treatment. I got interested and by dint of sustained enquiries, visits to the botanical gardens and to Hakimji Meer Ghouse and consultations with medico-botanical books, I discovered that this fern is known in the scientific world as *Adiantum Venustam*. It is a most delicate fern (resembling the British maiden hair fern) growing in altitudes of three thousand to ten thousand, near the Pamirs and the Himālayas. [For more details see appendix B].

The valuable properties of the delicate fern seem amazingly great, and so, say what we may about myths, legends, beliefs, we cannot brush aside the fact of its being in use for a few thousand years in the Middle East, Central Asia, Afghanistan and perhaps North India, thus perpetuating the memory of a great Iranian

prince. In fact we learn from the Russian books that the populace deified him. This was not the only thing. For a few centuries after Christ, the Khorezm *shāhs* (rulers) insisted on stamping his picture as riding on a horse on the reverse of the coins. So fond and proud were they of the great traditions of the Kyanian dynasty of Shiawush, that they resisted all outside influence.

To revert to the genealogy to refresh our memory, I may briefly state that Kaikaus had a son named Siawush. Prince Siawush died prematurely and left behind a son called Kai Khushroo (who died childless). He hands over his throne to his near relative Lohrasp. From Lohrasp the power passes on to king Vishtaspa (also known as Gustaspa), who is the fortunate ruler who offers shelter to the prophet Zoroaster and eventually becomes his devoted disciple in spite of all surrounding influences of the various clans who had their own special gods.

As may be expected, an unlimited amount of learned and also popular literature has existed for centuries past in Arabic, Persian Greek, English, French, Russian, Chinese and Gujarāti languages about Zoroaster and his teachings contained in his *Gāthas* (the Avesta). Well may you ask, "what is the value of the Avesta, that the learned world has devoted so much time and money for its study ?"

To state briefly, the Avesta, the ancient scripture of the Parsis, contains the earliest recorded expression of the moral idea. As we read them, we cannot help being most deeply impressed. The *Gāthas* which are the direct expressions of Zoroaster, formed the Bible of all the Middle East for a decade of centuries (one thousand years); and but for the battle of Marathon, the Zoroastrian scriptures might have been adopted by the Greeks as their religion, with some loss in poetry, but a gain in soul.

In what I say further, I shall not repeat myself what I have explained in one of my previous articles written some years ago in one of the journals of the learned Mythic Society. [**QJMS : Vol. IX. pp. 270-297**]. Then again, I am anxious to describe the great exploration work done by the Russian scientists and archæologists under the guidance of Professor Tolstov. These learned men have

brought to light some amazing new discoveries in the "Garden of Eden" south of the Sea of Aral and north of Afghanistan.

In those days, the country right away from Armenia to the east of the Sea of Aral, was infested with warring tribes and clans, and the terrible Assyrians, the Babylonians and the Turanians and others vied with one another in forging terrible engines of pillage, torture and extortion on suffering mankind, who must have prayed in their own way, for relief. God must have heard their anguished cries, because in the ancient village of Amui (discovered by the learned Parsi historian Sir Jivanji Mody) somewhere in North-West Persia, •was born a holy child who became a man of destiny bearing the name Zarathustra. We know that the prophet passed through periods of doubt, anxiety, suffering, anguish, enquiry, then vision and at last illumination. Mysterious fate takes him eastwards to Siestan or Sakastan or Zarang and Bactria or Balkh and he finds protection under the aegis of king Vishtaspa (also known as Gustaspa). If we read Reverend Moulton's *Early Zoroastrianism* (pages 83, 140, 174, 357) or other works of Parsi or Russian scholars, we learn what a tremendous opposition he had from the leaders of the clans Kavis, Karapans and Usijs (whose totems are the Ox, the Horse and the Snake).

The thrilling moment in the dawn of civilization arrives. Zoroaster sweeps aside the gods of the clans and introduces his doctrine of strict monotheism and truth, because in one of his divine songs he says: "*Yavat isai tavacha avatkhsai aeshe ashahya*" (So long as I am able and have power, I shall teach humanity to be in the quest of truth).

All this became possible because he was able to convince the priest-king Vishtaspa of these ideals and obtain the royal assent. We find Zoroaster blessing Vishtaspa and we note that Zoroaster is fully aware of the immediate forefathers of his patron ruler and the episodes, because even today in the archaic language we can read Zoroaster's divine song of bestowing blessings on king Vishtaspa and speaking to him: "*Srirem keherpem anasrvanem bavahi yatha kwa Shiavashano*" (Be thou beauteous in person, and guileless as Siawush). And in our Parsi wedding ceremonies the priest speaks in the archaic language of the Avesta: "*Hudid*

bed chun Shiawush" (In looks be you as beauteous as Siawush), to the bride and the bridegroom.

I shall now reproduce certain passages from a valuable book by Hermann Schneider, Professor of Philosophy, Leipzig: "What he sang and revealed (*Gāthas* or songs) were didactic speeches showing deep insight into the nature of the wide spirit..........." "The teachings of Zoroaster sprang from a religious movement which sought to unite men with God. Zoroaster sought to achieve the same union, but by means of rational knowledge and moral action............."

"The world and men were both alike good and evil. That is a fact, and one of the fundamental facts from which Zoroaster must have started out. It can be seen as in the lives of individuals. Everywhere constructive forces are opposed by destructive, alike in lifeless and living nature. The storm floods destroy the cultivated fields, weeds overrun the wheat, the poisonous snake kills the useful ox. In the human world, a bad ruler succeeds a good one, an evil man gets the better of a just one, the foolish servant of Haoma slays the drought-ox and deprives himself of reason by an intoxicating drink instead of using it. In every man there is a spirit of wisdom and a spirit of folly, they struggle one against the other and prevail alternately; even light and darkness are opposed."

Thus, I would say there is a continual tug-of-war between forces of nature whom Zarathustra terms Spentomanyo (the good) and Angremainyo. We may call them the two principle spirits or powers or in more modern scientific language we can use the word "energy." Everywhere we see polarity in nature. In fact Dr. Hermann Schneider in his discourse, says: "........we have here the germ of an elementary theory of Physics and of mental faculties in psychology, (reason, justice)."

May I add my own note and say that it is almost wierd how those great thinkers like Zoroaster and his disciples stumbled upon the hidden secrets of nature and enunciated their theory of FRAVASHI, the reservoir of spiritual energy, emanating or surrounding human beings. If we read the scientific literature of today as expounded by the greatest mathematicians and physiscists, we hear

them say (I will quote one great man) "Even to a hardened theoretical physiscist, it remains perpetually astonishing that our solid world of trees and stones can be built of quantum fields and nothing else."

In the ULTIMATE analysis, the noble conception of "Energy" must come in here. It manifests itself in various forms but only this one thing pervades the whole UNIVERSE, materalised (as Einstein has now shown) or unmaterialised and it is the *Interaction* (on macroscopic or microscopic scales) between Fields of Energy which display themselves in innumerable ways which we interpret to ourselves through the medium of our five senses (or shall we say six ?) and resolve an event by DUALISM. Let us return from digressing and proceed to give fairly free translations (extracts only) from pages 11, 83, 84 and 85 of Professor Tolstov's books (1) *On the Trail of Ancient Khorezmian Civilization*, published by the Academy of Sciences (1948) Moscow, (2) *Ancient Khwerysm* and (3) two or three more shorter articles published by learned Russian societies.

PART II

I dare say I could have written practically most of the first part of this article without the help of the learned works of Professor Tolstov, but for the information contained in this part, I acknowledge my indebtedness to him. To begin with Khorezm is known in Arabic as Xwarzm (as is known from the Khorezm coins of the eighth century A.D.). In old Persian they knew the locality as Qurzm and Uvarizmis. The ancient Babylonians called the area Humarisma and it was known under the name of Marashimis in the Araimic language. For the Greek people it was called Khoresmia and in Latin Chorasmia. The word Khorezm comes from two words the first part meaning the Sun and the second part land (the Avestic *Zem*, meaning land or earth).

In his book *On the Trail* (*or Trace*) *of Khorezmian Civilization*, published in 1948, the Professor says on page 11, that this land has played a most important role in Zoroastrian traditions. Now, we Parsis are aware of the fact from the scriptures and the translations, that Jamsheed or *Yima* (of the Avesta) the hero of

the Iranian epic of the primordial Peshidanian dynasty, lighted the most sacred fire ADAR PHROBAH in the Khorezm country east of the Caspian Sea and the Professor mentions that in his book; but in my opinion the advance in our knowledge is the fact that the Russian scientists show that this must have happened somewhere very near in the vicinity of Dzanbas-kala, Teshik-kala and Topra-kala (see map and also the plates 2 and 3). Professor Tolstov states that, according to the well-known author Marquarat (upheld by Barthold) and other investigators, for our Garden of Eden or the Aryana Vaejo, we must look to the Khorezm country. He has stated that according to folklore, Zoroaster must have been born in this locality; but here I must differ and invite the reader's reference to a Chapter called, *The Birth-place of Zoroaster*, page 138, Cama Oriental Institute papers, where the late learned Dr. Sir Jivanji Jamshedji Mody has shown that Zoroaster must have been born at Amui in North-West Iran. On page 237, he describes his visit in September 1925 to Russia, where the Russian Academy of Sciences celebrated its bi-centenary in September 1925, and after that he goes to Iran and visits Urumiah, and finds his way to a village called Amui. The discourse is of great interest.

We may now go on to pages 83 and 85 of the book where Professor Tolstov mentions that Shiawush or Shiawarshan was worshipped as a demi-god by the populace and the personality of the prince was pushed back to a second place over-shadowed by the advent of the great prophet Zoroaster and the personages of the Zoroastrian pantheon. Talking of Shiawush, he says that there is no doubt we have here before us a *histerio-sophical* mythical subject, closely connected with the cycle of dying and resuscitating god of all vegetation, similar to Osiris, Attis and Adonis. So profound was the influence created that as centuries rolled by the cult of the worship of Shiawush passed on eastwards transforming itself by degrees right upto Phrygia, the cult now being known as **SABAZIOS** and eventually ending in Greece in the form of the worship of Adonis and Dionysus. Professor Tolstov refers us often to a book called *History of Bukhara* written in Arabic originally by a certain historian, Al Narshakhi who presented the volume to the

Samanid Amir Nuh Ibn Nasr in 1943. Dr. Fryer of the Harvard University has recently translated the same into English. Before we proceed further we should have some idea of the topography of the country.

How much more one enjoys the history of a place if one has visited the scene of action or if it be possible to visualise something of the location? With that object I would like to make an attempt to produce a kind of picture of the tract of country south of the Sea of Aral about one hundred and fifty miles long and one hundred miles wide. The river Oxus ploughs through this country part of which can be described as a fertile, elongated island in a sea of sand, an outpost of cultivated earth driven deep into the endless desert in the sandy plains of the Caspian-Aralo depression, (see map. Plate 1).

It is not at all difficult to obtain access to the well-known National Geographical Magazine and for an extremely interesting description reference is invited to an article of 20th September 1944 by Layman D. Wilbur about his trip with Russian engineers along the river Amu Daria (Oxus) and then further on by a small steam boat on the Sea of Aral.

With a whimsicality all its own, the river Oxus has shifted its courses on its way to the Aral Sea innumerable times during the last ten or twenty centuries. Often destroying man's handiwork as floods only can, as witnessed only very recently in the floods of North India and Pakistan. The great historian Al'Biruni tells us of a gigantic castle called (Al fir) Pil-kala being completely destroyed and washed away in about the year 500 A. D. by the flood waters of the river. A publisher firm called Edward Stanford produced in 1896, a set of geographical books (which I read in the Nilgiri library) and amongst the articles (Volume II " ASIA ") Mr. A. H. Keane, F.R.G.S. refers to what are known as Coriolis forces and on page 117, we read, " the tendency of the Oxus like that of the great Siberian rivers is to press continuously on the right or east bank. The consequence of this tendency which is due to the rotation of the earth round its axis from west to east is that the river has been gradually deflected from the Kungrad channel

(navigable in the seventeenth century but now dried up) eastward to Taldick channel."

Of course human beings from time immemorial took advantage of the great river and constructed canals to draw out the water for irrigation purposes about which there were the tribal quarrels and fights and cruelties were also inflicted by the then despotic rulers by interfering with the irrigation systems to gain their own ends. The channels of ancient canals can be followed across the sand-swept huge clay deposits in the desert covered with shrub and thorn. Throughout the whole country-side flanking the east and the west shores of the river, one can find traces of ancient buildings, isolated and fortified castles (of course now in ruins) perched in a unique way on the tops of high hills. To give an idea of this particular picture, I have shown in Plates 2 and 3 three typical *kalas*. *Kala* means fort and we know it in India as *Killeh*. *Kala* or *Kalé* is a Turkish word. About thirty very ancient forts are scattered perched on hill tops on each side of the river distributed irregularly. I would like to mention the names of a few important ones which are very near each other. Teshik-kala, Dzanbas-kala, Topra-kala, Angaka-kala, Berkoot-kala, Arez-kala, Kavat-kala, etc. To avoid overcrowding on the map, I have not shown all these.

Professor Tolstov's books are illustrated profusely with aerial photos which bring realistic pictures to one's mind. If we eliminate from our minds the existence of the great navigable river Oxus and replace it with a railway line or a road, we can compare the scenery with a railway journey from Manmad to Aurangabad (Hyderabad State, Deccan), or from the small town of Wai to Satara near Poona, when we pass between the hills on which are perched the ancient forts of the time of Aurangzeb and S'ivāji. There is one important difference, however, which I must point out and that is if we were flying over the river Oxus we would see plans of these ancient forts showing huge areas (round and square) enclosed by thick walls and great towers and our special attention is drawn by explorers and archæologists to this particular type of ancient architecture of bygone days. Those familiar with Zoroastrian scriptures must have heard of the *Vendidad*. The old

language is very difficult to understand and we must all be grateful to Professor J. Darmesteter for his translations of the *Vendidad* in the volumes of the Sacred Books of the East edited by Max Müller and we must also be grateful to other Parsi scholars like Dr. Irach Taraporewala for their share in such class of work. In *fargard* No. 2 we read about *Yima* (Jamsheed) *Airyana Vaeja* and the *Vara*. I will just transcribe one small passage. " Therefore make thee a *Vara* as long as a riding ground on every side of the square and thither bring offspring of sheep and oxen, of men, of dogs, of birds and of red glazing fires." In a short chapter we cannot give more.

In the Nilgiri library I came across a book by Major Herbert Wood written in 1876 dedicated to H. I. H. Grand Duke Constantine, Imperial Russian Geographical Society. This young army Major was allowed by the Grand Duke to accompany a Russian Scientific expedition about eighty years ago to the country near the Sea of Aral. Describing certain buildings in the Khivan Oasis he says, " In type these buildings resemble the ancient habitation of the early Āryans as described in the *Vendidad* and since none are found beyond the neighbourhood of Cimbye this place probably approximates to the northern limits of Āryan influence on the lands of Turan."

I must now revert to the learned literature of Professor Tolstov and quote a few extracts culled from his articles. He states that an expedition under his direction has been working in the desert since 1937 and this is a continuation of the investigation begun by Yakubovsky (1928-29) and Vocvodsky (1934). He states: " I cannot forget the impression I received one evening when my companion and I climbed to the top of the fortress tower at Angka-kala, scaring on our way the steppe foxes that had found shelter there. Against the crimson background of a stormy sunset (there was a mighty sand storm next day) there lay before us, between sand ridges lit with the sun's last rays, countless black silhouettes of the houses and towers of a dead oasis, Berkoot-kala, seventeen kilometres (about ten and a half miles) in extent from north to south ; it was the silhouette of a huge city. Only the deathly silence of the desert told us that life had left those lands

which the sands had conquered. The huge open spaces between the building were covered with traces of man's labours. Countless potsherds, splinters of ancient glass, the fragments of bronze ornaments, bronze arrow-heads, ancient seals with carved representations of horsemen, deer and birds, statuettes of horses, camels, monkeys, coins minted 1,500 years ago by Khwarizm shāhs and 2,000 years ago by the mighty Central Asiatic Indian Empire of the Kushans......."

In another place we read (I can only give brief abstracts) "An analysis of the material characterising the Stone and Bronze Ages in Khwarizm enables us to raise the curtain on many aspects of the working and social life of the ancient inhabitants of that country."

"At the turn of the fourth and third millennia B. C. the period of the 'Kelteminar', neolithic fishermen and hunters lived in settlements in the sand dunes and amongst the thick forest and reed jungles on the islands and banks of the Amu delta. These people lived in communal houses, oval in shape, twenty-two by sixteen metres in area and ten metres in height; the high conical roofs of these houses were supported by a complicated system of pillars and beams. In the centre of each house stood the sacred hearth, the fire on which was never allowed to go out; the site of this hearth was marked by a thick layer of pure white ash lying on sand that had been burnt red to a tremendous depth. The inhabitants of the communal house cooked their food at other hearths placed around the sacred fire. These are the early origins of the sacred fires of the Zoroastrians. This type of dwelling is also characteristic of Khawrizm in the Bronze and Early Iron Ages, the turn of the second and first millennia B. C. People still lived on the sand hills, for the land that was then being drained by canals was still too damp for habitation. Their houses, however, were strongly built and long in shape, stretching for dozens of metres along the crest of a hill and in design something like the famous 'long houses' of the American Indians. This is the period of the primitive 'hoe cultivation' of the soil, when irrigation was still unknown and the natural moisture of rain-watered land was used."

I have already touched upon the kingdom of Kangui or Kangdez which Chinese traditions knew as Kung kiu. On page 20 of his big book *Ancient Khorezm* published by Izdaania and Co. Moscow, the Professor even shows how the word was written in Chinese characters. I also draw the reader's attention to page 173 of Khordeh Avesta Daftar by the Parsi scholar A. B. Dhaber (1922), and page 19 of Yasht Ba Mayani (1901) by Erwad K. E. Kanga (of revered memory) or page 379, the Tenth Edition 1926 by the same author. Professor Tolstov and others hailed this country as the Airyana Vaeja, The Garden of Eden. Now once again referring to what Major Wood wrote eighty years ago, we must also listen to what Professor Tolstov says about the ' City of Dwelling Walls ' which he declares is the most ancient record of a forgotten kingdom. By the City of Dwelling Walls is meant " a huge fortified settlement the whole interior of which, a space of about a square kilometre (=0.62 Mile),* was devoid of all buildings and served as a gigantic cattle-pen. The people lived in dark, narrow, passage-like rooms with arched ceilings, built in several rows in the thickness of the city walls ; the walls were in places as much as eighteen metres (55 feet) thick." He says that " this kind of dwelling corresponds exactly to the famous **Square Vara**, the Legendary Village constructed by the mythical figure Jamsheed or *Yima* of the Avesta as per the commands of Ahura Mazda."

Many years ago I was talking to Sir Flinders Petri, the famous Egyptologist and he explained to me how due to floods, terrific sand storms, natural upheavals of various kinds in a span of ten thousand years, villages and cities would get completely submerged and on the top of which new dwelling houses would be constructed and once again these also might be covered over with ashes, dust, earth and sand leaving no trace whatsoever of the existence of three civilisations, till centuries later archæologists come to excavate and explore. Such is the case here also. The Russian scientists here have had to dig deep down passing through perhaps two or three layers before they could reach the finds of Iron Age and the

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* *Note.*—1 Kilometre=0.62 mile.
1 Mile=1.069 kilometre.

Bronze Age and thus the Russians found at Dzanbas-kala the ruins of ancient buildings definitely showing the rooms devoted to the worship of fire with the fire hearths containing the ashes and the battened earth, the communal dining rooms, the central street and many other remarkable features which cannot all be described here. I have already mentioned that (see map) many hill forts like Dzanbas-kala, Topra-kala, Teshik-kala, Anga-kala, Arez-kala, Adamli-kala, Berkoot-kala, Bazaar-kala, Ooi-kala, Kumbuz-kala and Pil-kala are all near one another just north of the important town of Turtkul. We can here only touch upon two forts, Toprā-kala and Teshik-kala. (Only three *kalas* are shown in the map).

Among the ruins of Topra-kala a Khorezm town, the Soviet archæologists have uncovered a palace of 300 rooms. The palace contains wall paintings of the third century A.D. which are so distinctive that it became obvious that a new chapter in the history of ancient art had been laid open.

To bring this article to a conclusion we will peep into the literature of Victor Vitkovich (Moscow 1954) and Professor Tolstov's book. First of all Victor Vitkovich calls Amu Daria the crazy river and compares it to the river Missisippi of the United States of America. He says, 'all of a sudden the river rushes upon its bank past which it had flowed peacefully for decades and begins furiously breaking off chunks of earth sometimes as much as dozens of yards a day," but he also tells us of the efforts that are being made by U.S.S.R. to tame the river. This versatile writer mentions the discovery of Teshik-kala in rather a dramatic manner. I shall quote him at some length. "The member of the expedition will always remember the day when A. Terenozhkin, one of Professor Tolstov's assistants, stopped in amazement in front of the Teshik-kala fortress. Although he was looking at those ruins for the first time, he could have sworn he had seen them somewhere before. He strained his memory to recall where and finally it came to him : on the Anikovskoye Plate."

"In 1909, long before the Revolution, an ancient gilt silver plate was unearthed in the North Urals. It was named "Anikovskoye Plate" after the village near which it was discovered. Archæologists bought it for the State Hermitage (Museum), where

it is kept up to this day." (The reader is referred to plate III for a picture of Teshik-kala and plate).

"The design on the plate represents a beautiful castle. Helmeted and armed warriors stand on the cattle roof. Two executed men hang from a crenellated tower. Lower down, on the terrace of the second storey, trumpeters are blowing their horns. An urn, probably containing the ashes of a hero, is being solemnly carried out of the castle. Women look down from little balconies clinging to the castle walls. Mounted warriors crowd round the castle."

"Archæologists came to the unanimous conclusion that it was an ancient Iranian plate dating back to the Sassanid dynasty. After studying the design on the plate, scientists wrote articles about Iranian architecture in the fourth and fifth centuries, an architecture which had disappered without leaving any monuments."

"Now the plate suddenly turned out to have come from ancient Khorezm, and not Iran; the ruins of the habitable tower of the Teshik-Kala fortress reproduced the ground floor of the castle designed on the plate."

"Soviet archæologists realized that they were on the eve of discovering an ancient civilization unknown to the world. And as they dug they did reveal a new and most engrossing page of history."

"The floods of the Nile brought into being ancient Egypt, and the vagaries of the Amu gave rise to ancient Khorezm. In Khorezm, as in Egypt, the fertile silt in the delta of the river was the soil on which agriculture reached a high level. In fighting the river, in beating off its attacks, the people created an intricate system of irrigation and tillage."

We are now to go back to page 205 of *Ancient Khorezm* where Professor Tolstov tells as about this Silver Plate known as the Anikovskoye Plate. He states ; 'apparently from what we see in the engraved picture it is not merely just a scene of a fortress which has been conquered in a battle. We see in the design a solemn procession carrying the Ossuary (or the Astadan) which is being taken out from the fortress containing the remains of Shiawush. The rider in the upper right corner must be his son, Kai-Khushroo the avenger. Those two dead bodies which are hanging from the

upper gallery of the tower may be taken as the two assasins. We also see a small picture of the wife of Shiawush and mother of Kai Khushroo. In general the whole theme symbolises the avenging of Shiawush, a central theme of the ancient Central Asiatic Iranian heroic epic. We see the return of the victorious Kai-Khushroo into Kangdez after avenging the death of his father, the divine founder of the Khorezmin dynasty. The Professor adds that this is the evidence that Khorezm and Kangui are identical.

EPILOGUE

I trust that the readers have been impressed by the description given by Professor Tolstov when he climbed to the top of the fortress tower of Angka-kala (close to Dzanbas-kala) one evening and saw the desolation in a tract of country probably once verdant and flourishing in the hoary past. I am a Zoroastrian and of the priest class. So in my imagination I also followed him and stood besides him watching the panorama and the scene brought to my mind a few particular lines from Shakespeare :—

" Now the hungry lion roars,
" And the wolf behowls the mood :
" Whilst the heavy ploughman snores
" All with weary task foredone.
" Now the wasted brands do glow
" Whilst the scritch-owl, scritching loud
" Puts the wretch that lies in woe
" In remembrance of a shroud."

I shivered and pulled my coat tighter round my body, as the icy cold blasts of the winds from the north began to blow : and then I remembered a pertinent passage from the Second Chapter of the ancient Zoroastrian scripture called the *Vendidad*, known as the *Vara* of *Yima* (*Yima* meaning the mythical king Jamsheed). The passage reads : " Thereupon Ahura Mazda said unto *Yima*. *Yima* (thou) fair son of Vivanhvat, upon the wicked material world shall descend the winters (and) through these (shall come) fierce deadly cold. Upon the wicked material world shall come winters (and) through these first of all shall fall deep snow (extending) from the highest height of the mountains to the depths of the waters."

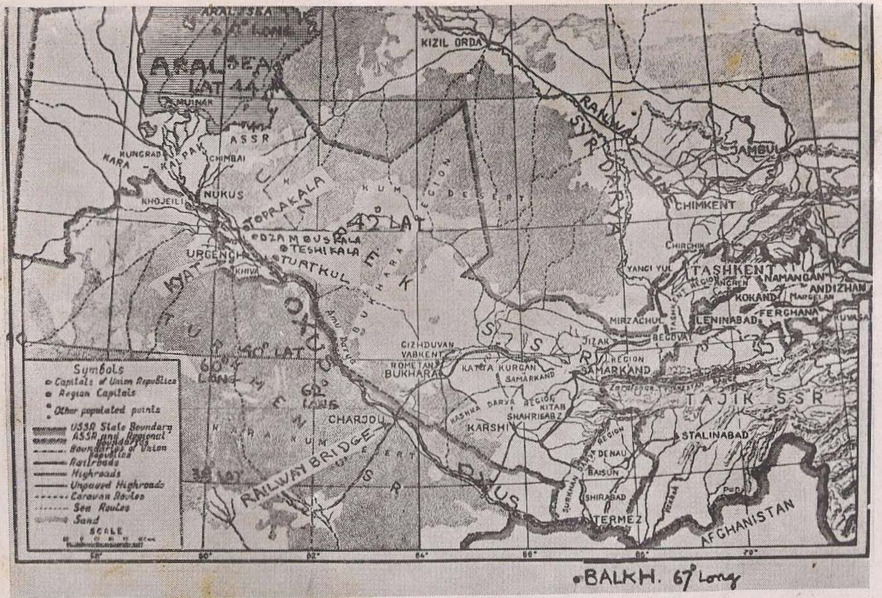

ARAL SEA
LAT 44
KIZIL ORDA
MUINAK
ASSR
KARA - KALPAK
KUNGRAD
CHIMBAI
NUKUS
KHOJEILI
TOPRAKALA
DZAMBUS KALA
TESHI KALA
URGENCH
TURTKUL
KHIVA
KUM DESERT
42° LAT
SYR DARYA
RAILWAY LINE
JAMBUL
CHIMKENT
CHIRCHIK
YANGI YUL
TASHKENT
NAMANGAN
ANDIZHAN
KOKAND
MARGELAN
FERGHANA
LENINABAD
MIRZACHUL
BEGOVAT
JIZAK
S.S.R.
GIZHDUVAN
VABKENT
ROMETAN
BUKHARA
KATTA KURGAN
SAMARKAND
TAJIK SSR
KASHKA DARYA REGION
KITAB
SHAHRISABZ
KARSHI
STALINABAD
DENAU
BAISUN
SHIRABAD
TERMEZ
AFGHANISTAN
CHARJOU
RAILWAY BRIDGE
OXUS
40° LAT
38° LAT
62° LONG
Symbols
Capitals of Union Republics
Region Capitals
Other populated points
USSR State Boundary
ASSR and Regional Boundaries
Boundaries of Union Republics
Railroads
Highroads
Unpaved Highroads
Caravan Routes
Sea Routes
Sand
SCALE
•BALKH. 67° Long

PLATE II

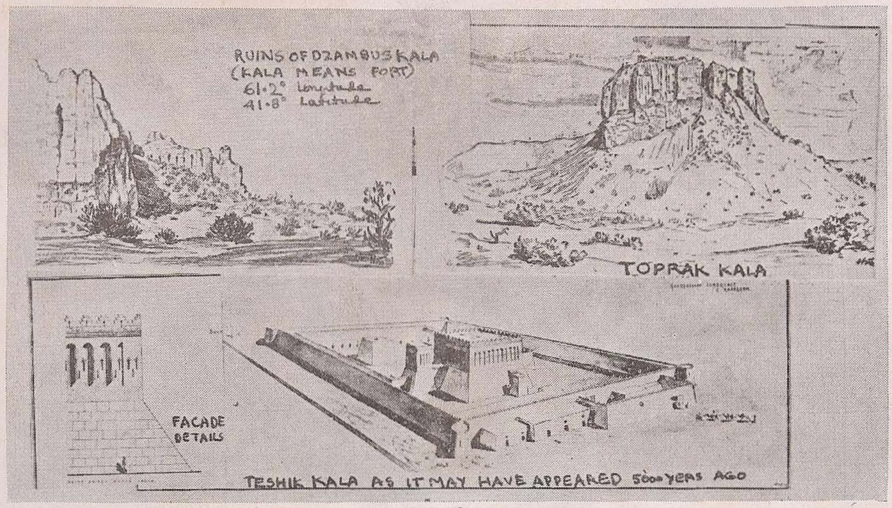

RUINS OF DZAMBUS KALA
(KALA MEANS FORT)
61·2° Longitude
41·8° Latitude
TOPRAK KALA
FACADE DETAILS
TESHIK KALA AS IT MAY HAVE APPEARED 5000 YEARS AGO

PLATE I

The article mentions historic localities named Seistan, Zaranj, Zahidan (Duzdap), Kuh-i-Khwaja, all near each other and famous for their associations with Zal, Rustom, Zoroaster, etc. It has not been possible to include them (longitude 62, latitude 31) in this map. Zahidan is 456 miles by rail to the West of Quetta. The map shows the locations of the ruins of Teshik-Kala, Topra-Kala and Dzanbas-Kala. Angaka-Kala is quite close to them.

PLATE II

The three forts are most ancient. The Soviet explorers excavated right down to very low levels and discovered the traces of civilizations of the Bronze and Iron Ages. As an example, at Dzanbas-Kala, prayer rooms with ashes in the hearths of sacred fires and hearths for communal kitchens, were found. Innumerable valuable finds were secured, such as rings, stone and bronze arrow-heads, stone implements, small statuettes showing human figures and figurines showing heads of animals, such as monkeys, camels, horses, etc.

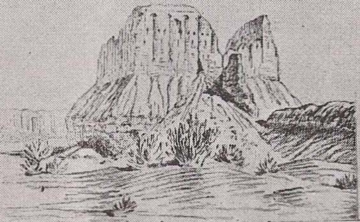
PLATE III

The Anikov silver plate (found in 1909) has also been shown and mentioned in volumes 1 and 4 (pages 510 and plate No. 233B) of the magnificent set of books "A Survey of Persian Art" edited by Dr. Upham Pope, who has visited Iran about 25 times, but the credit of discovering the surprising link which exists between the architectural designs displayed on the silver plate and the facade architecture actually to be seen on the ruins on the fort of Teshik (Kala) must be awarded to A. Terenozhkin (one of Professor Tolstov's assistants).

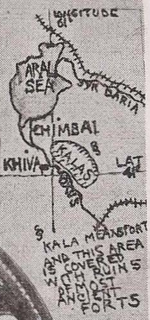
Hermitage Museum is not in Moscow as mentioned below the illustration (Plate 3) but is located in Leningrad.

PLATE IV

One must study the diagram as if one was viewing the spherical surface of the earth from somewhere above the POLE. That's why the MAP does not show the continents quite in the usual way. This can be better understood by looking upon the top of an ordinary class room globe from the top. This picture is practically a copy of the one prepared in the Science Section of the "TIME" magazine by Mr. Donovas who has based it on the informations contained is the lectures delivered at the Annual Meeting of the British Association for the Advancement of Sciences at Oxford in September 1954.



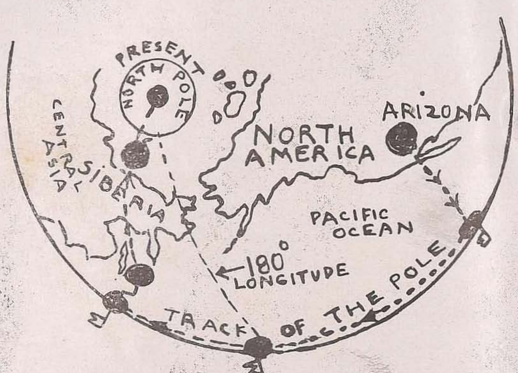
ANCIENT FORT TESHIK KALA LIKE MANY SIMILAR "KALAS" IN KHWERISM DESERT.



"ANIKOV" SILVER PLATE 9⅝" DIAM. ENGRAVED
HERMITAGE MUSEUM, MOSCOW

Аниковское блюдо. Эрмитаж.

WANDERING OF THE NORTH POLE



In this article so far I have not had the opportunity of saying anything about the upheavals and the terrific vicissitudes of climatic changes which Central Asia and East Siberia have gone through since the days of the hoary past, all shrouded in mystery and referred to in the *Vendidad*. We can only get a glimpse through the mists, if we try to snatch a clue here and there from the hints thrown out in the ancient songs. When could the above passage have been recorded in script? Perhaps two thousand years ago, when writing was invented, but that does not mean that the information was fresh then. Probably twenty thousand or even fifty thousand years ago, something must have happened and the information was transmitted by mouth and memorising for generations to posterity. Then perhaps came pictographs (peculiar scratches and drawings in caves and on rock surfaces). Helen Rubissow in her beautiful book *Art of Asia*, says on page 5, "The best modern painters of animals may well envy the precision and artistry of his strokes, the expressiveness of his figures, the mastery of his form. Whence the creative genius of paleolithic artists, who according to anthropologists were not far above the ape? It is one of the riddles of pre-history."

Naturally, I got interested. I had also read previously Bala Gangadhar Tilak's book, *The Artic Home in the Vedas* (published, 1903) and I found that he also refers copiously to what has been said in the *Vendidad* (See pages 368, 378, 444, and many others in Tilak's book). Somehow, I never felt quite satisfied with the explanations.

Slowly but steadily, scientific data has been accumulating. The informations contained in historical records, evidences collected from archæological excavations and the science of Anthropology, are all now playing important parts simultaneously to focus light upon some very puzzling episodes concerning the advent of the intelligent man or ape man on this earth and the existence of ice ages. And so, to continue, recently I came across a book written in popular style *Man, Time and Fossils* by Ruth Moore, (1953) (382 pages), and learnt how Anthropology, aided by Chemistry, was trying to date the past. By this is meant fixation of some date for the fossil remains of human beings which are known today almost

to every one of us as the "Piltdown," 'Neanderthal," "Sinanthropus Pekinensis," and "Java" men. This subject is ably dealt with in the book.

Two new tests have now been discovered, the fluorine test and dating with carbon-14 or radio carbon (see pages 23, 303, 317, 332 and 345 of the book of Ruth Moore). Here is an interesting caption below a picture on page 318. "Did Piltdown man live in the time of the Mastodon 500,000 or more years ago, or did he belong to the time of the Beaver around fifty thousand years ago?"

Anthropologists are now busy pursuing these new methods to fix the dates of the advents of pre-historic man, or ape man, by putting the fossil skulls, teeth and other bones to flourine and carbon-14 dating tests.

Yet, one more query remains. What about dating the climatic changes that have taken place on this earth, during the last five hundred thousand years or even millions of years? In this article we are only concerned with Central Asia and Siberia. It is amazing just how far science reaches out today. A combination of Geology, Geophysics, Electro-Magnetism (all bunched under the name of Rock Magnetism), has accomplished this. I think everyone is aware of one of the world's most learned societies known as the British Association for the Advancement of Science. Erudite papers in all branches of science are read and discussed, in the months of August and September every year, in various parts of Britain. I am now going to refer to the lectures delivered at Oxford and Bristol in September 1954 and 1955. A more plausible explanation of what has been said in the Second Chapter of *Vendidad* comes to my mind, after listening to the learned discourses delivered by Professor P. M. S. Blackett (whose name is well-known in India), Dr. Nicholls, Dr. Creer and Dr. Runcoin. The subject goes under the name "Rock Magnetism and the *Wanderings of the Pole*."

I can only touch upon this subject here with utmost brevity. Sometime in the near future, I hope to write at greater length. I reproduce below, a short extract from the ever interesting journal, *Time* (New York), which reported a little on the matter in 1954.

"About seven hundred million years ago, the Pole was in Arizona. Then it moved to the Pacific, then to Japan and

Northward across Eastern Siberia, to the present position." (See map for which I acknowledge my gratefulness to Mr. J. Donovan, Science Department, *Time*). "Dr. Creer believes that the magnetic and geographical poles always stay together, so the migrations of the magnetic pole mean that the geographical North pole moved in about the same way, followed faithfully by the earth's climatic zones. This would explain the ancient ice caps in lands where palms grow now."

Another quotation from B. B. C. broadcast, by Professor P. M. S. Blackett: "The most obvious explanation of these discoveries is that the earth's magnetic field has reversed itself periodically. Hospers has deduced that in the last 50,000,000 years or so, the earth's field has reversed about every 1,000,000 years."

It is obvious that the transit of the North Pole through about 14,000 miles in millions of years and also the reversals of the same, must have caused climatic havoc on the continents of Siberia and Central Asia, with which we are only concerned for the moment. For those who are interested, ample detailed scientific and mathematical information is available in the Journal entitled *Advance in Physics* (*Rock Magnetism*) issued by Messrs. Taylor and Francis Ltd., Red Lion Court, London, E.C-4. (1955).

The North Pole today is pretty far away from the Sea of Aral and the surrounding Central Asian country and yet they suffer from the disastrous effects of the bitter icy cold winds that blow from the north. We can now understand what must have been the state of affairs in Central Asia and Eastern Siberia when the North Pole actually passed through Eastern Siberia, tens of thousands or millions of years ago, not forgetting the reversals. No wonder hordes of human beings known as the Āryans, the Scythians, the Mongols, the Turanians and other tribes, all passed through the gateway of Khwerizm on their way to all parts of Iran and also to Armenia and the Southern shores of the Black Sea, where the Mongols mixed and intermarried with the people from the Western world and thus created the modern Turkey.

The quest for further solutions is sure to continue and in ten years more from now, I am sure that Anthropology, Chemistry and Geophysics will throw more light on the subject of the cradle of

mankind and the fixation of some date for the advent of Homo *Sapiens* (or even the ape-man) his age. As before, so now and forever, it will always be " The Endless Quest."

APPENDIX A

Names in the archaic language of Avesta.	Names as in Old Persian.
YIMA KHSHAETA	JAMSHID
AGHI DATAHA	ZOHAK
THRAETAONA	FAREEDOON
FRAṆGRASYAN	AFRASYAB
KAVI USAN	KAIKAUS
KAVI HUSRUVAH	KAIKHUSHROO
ZARTHUSTRA	ZARTOSHT
KAVI VISHTASPA	KAI GUSHTASPA
AREJOD-ASPA	ARJASP
AIRYU	ERACH
SYAVARSHANA	SYAWUSH
HUTAOSTA	KATAYUN
AURVATASPA	LOHRASP
TURA	TUR
BAWRI	BABUL (BABYLON)
KHVARIZEM	KHVARIZM
KANGHA (KANGHI)	KANGDEZ
HARA-BEREZAUTI	ALBORZ
BAKHADI	BALKH
HARAEVA	HERAT
MOURVA	MERV

I shall spare the reader the perusal of the transformation of more archaic words into old Persian and also other languages.

I would like to mention that the Old Iranians were extremely fond of their animals such as cows (*Gao*), Camels (*Ooṣtra*) and their horses (*Asp*) and so we have old Iranian names ending in (*Gao*) such as Avaregao, Parshat Gao or Vohuṣtra, Zarathuṣtra

and lastly innumerable names of human beings and rivers ending in *asp*, such as Jamasp, Gustasp, Vistasp, Habasp, Paoroos'asp, Kers'asp and in many more.

APPENDIX B

The Fern known as ADIANTUM VENUSTUM known in Iran, Central Asia, Afganistan and in Northern India as *Par-i-Shiawurshan* For more than four or five thousand years.

This delicate fern is famous for the medicinal values of its leaves which are slightly bitter. With the kind help of the librarian in the Botanical garden I carefully went through the pages of the volumes entitled *Indian Medical Plants* by Kiritikar and Basu published in Allahabad. Plants appear under a variety of names in such books and after a dint of searching, my eyes lighted upon the word *Pari-siyawarshan*. It is also known under other names, Arabic — *Kuzburatelbir*, *Masifeelaswad*, Sanskrit — *Hansapadi*, Urdu — *Mobarkha*. The book says that it has great medicinal value (especially in the Unani system) as purgative, for biliousness, for inflammation, for diseases of the chest, for ophthalmia, for hydrophobia, headache, cold, as oil for piles and as an antisceptic for wounds, etc. In the collection of dried fern kept in the library for reference we were lucky enough to find amongst the folders containing dried plants a sample of this fern from Kawensi (Punjab), collection of Mr. J. R. Drummond (Ascent Tokol). The date on the record is 21st May 1888. The book says that the habitation of this delicate plant is Nepal, Simla, Mussoori, Srinagar, Meerut, Afganisthan (at altitude ranging between 3,000 and 6,5C0). There is a book called, *Ferns of India* by Beddome. Reference is invited to plate No. 20, which illustrates this delicate fern resembling the maiden hair fern. It is easy to be decieved and think the ordinary maiden hair fern is *Par-i-Shawashaia*. One has to use a magnifying glass to study the subtle difference.

En passant, I would like to mention the Himālayan herb, *Rauwolfia Serpentina*, known for centuries in India as the right medicinal plant for high blood pressure sold in the Indian herbalist shops in bazaars. Realising that there was something in all this, a well-known Bombay heart specialist took up the study

of this plant and eventually a learned paper by him appeared on pages 350-355 of October 1949 of the *British Heart Journal* (London). I now learn that an extract of this plant is manufactured on scientific principles by an Indian firm of repute at Bombay. I wonder whether any one has thought of chemically analysing and testing the delicate leaves of *Adiantum Venustum* and making a scientific medicinal preparation out of the same.

APPENDIX C

Acknowledgments

Throughout, I have tried to mention always with thanks, my sources and it is only right that I should state here that I have reproduced the pictures illustrating the ruined forts Teshik-kala, Dzanbas-kala and Topra-kala, from Professor Tolstov's big book *Dreveny Khorezm*, 351 pages: in Russian and I believe the illustrations have all been drawn by him. I offer him my thanks.

For the illustration showing the wandering of the Pole right away from Arizona through the Pacific Ocean, via Japan, Eastern Siberia and to the present position, I express my indebtedness to Mr. J. Donovan and Miss Storfer of the Science Department of that remarkable weekly, *Time* (of New York).

THE STUDY OF ANTHROPOLOGY AND ITS CULTURAL VALUE

By S. S. Sarkar

Introduction

Anthropology is defined by Martin (1928) as "the natural history of man" and is thus treated as one of the natural sciences. Martin, however, in his definition considered Anthropology, as equivalent to physical anthropology in Great Britain and America, since in Germany, Anthropology means physical anthropology while social anthropology is designated by the term *Sozial Anthropologie.* The curriculum of studies is different as they are treated as two different subjects.

In Great Britain the two branches of Anthropology were not separately treated until recently. At present there are seven centres of independent teaching in social anthropology (Firth, 1954) while so far as physical anthropology is concerned Morant (1944) pointed out "that there is now no one in Great Britain who has a wholetime appointment as a physical anthropologist." He mentioned of three posts for physical anthropologists in England—a Readership at Oxford and a Lectureship each at Cambridge and London.

In America the two branches of anthropology have always been combined under one Professor. It was only due to Hrdlicka's influence that a separate journal (American Journal of Physical Anthropology) and a separate association, American Association of Physical Anthropologists, could be established. Hrdlicka was not associated with any University. The Universities did not accept the dual divisions seriously.

In India, the old policy of Great Britain is being followed and there are only two Professorships in Anthropology — one at Calcutta and the other at Lucknow. A recent chair of Anthropo-Geography has been created at Saugor (Madhya Pradesh), and it is probable that only human geography will be seriously taught

there. At least, the curriculum of studies of the Saugor University will have to chalk out a special direction of its own, in view of the fact that the two subjects of Geography and Anthropology are already being taught at the other Universities here and abroad as separate disciplines. Other centres of independent teaching of Anthropology in India are Gauhati University, Bihar University (Ranchi), Delhi University and Madras University (diploma course). The majority of the workers are engaged in social anthropology while physical anthropology is restricted to a few. Calcutta, perhaps, possesses the best well-equipped laboratory of Physical Anthropology while those of Lucknow and Delhi are good as well.

Workers in Anthropology

Krober (1954) in his Introduction to *Anthropology Today* has estimated the number of active professional anthropologists in the world is probably under 2,000. Firth (1954) has mentioned of eighty workers in social anthropology in Great Britain. In India, we have at the six Universities about forty-five* professional workers of which the Calcutta University can claim about twenty.* With the opening of the Tribal Research Bureaus at the various States the number of professional anthropologists would increase by about another ten. The Government of India opened a section of anthropology under the Zoological Survey of India in 1927, which has been enlarged into an independent department since December, 1946. The department started with an ambitious programme with almost the principle of "you want to include everything" which resulted in the recruitment of a large number of non-anthropologists and a big secretarial staff. There are about eight trained men and about twelve more or less freshers from the University among a total number of about two hundred employees. Thus the number of professional anthropologists in India comes up to about seventy-five, of which sixty are social anthropologists and about fifteen in the physical branch.

Indian Anthropology has profited a great deal from the contributions of non-professional ,anthropologists the most

* These include paid research workers attached to the Universities.

outstanding of whom was Sarat Chandra Roy. The late Sarat Chandra Mitra also contributed a good deal towards folklore studies. At present, the two outstanding personalities are Verrier Elwin and Nirmal Kumar Bose. Both of them are yet actively contributing towards the cause of Indian Anthropology.

Progress of Social Anthropology in India

Inspite of the largest number of workers in India being social anthropologists the progress of Anthropology in India has been mainly due to foreign scholars even now. Seligman, Rivers, Risley, Thurston, Hutton, Mills, Grigson, Haimendorf, Koppers and others have already made lasting contributions in Indian Anthropology. Of late Chattopadhyaya, Majumdar, Srinivasa, Sarma, Das, Ghurye, Ehrenfels, Aiyappan, Biswas, Ray, Chatterji, Basu, Sen and others are actively working in the various fields of Anthropology.

The most notable contribution, particularly related to the present paper, is that of Nirmal Kumar Bose in the concept and definition of culture. Bose in his book *Cultural Anthropology* published in 1929, defined Culture "as the crystallized phase of men's life-activities." This book was never seriously taken by the scholars in this country until Kroeber and Kluckhohn (1952) evaluated its proper place and honour. They have revealed that out of 164 definitions of Culture, of which 157 belong to the period 1920-50, Bose's definition proposed as early as 1929, occupies a high place in the chronology of time, while his views on the nature of Culture and the distinctive properties of Culture have secured a place higher than the definition itself. It is worthwhile quoting Kroeber and Kluckhohn: "Bose (3), 1929, strikes somewhat a new note with his statement that while cultural anthropology draws its data from human behaviour, it specializes on those *crystallized* products of behaviour which can be passed on between individuals."

Bose's influence is also enormously felt by his Editorship of *Man-in-India* a rightly handed over legacy of Sarat Chandra Roy.

The Department of Anthropology of the Government of India spends an annual sum of about ten lacs of rupees and so far only one Bulletin has come out.

Cultural Value of Anthropology

The concept of values in social anthropology is comparatively a recent one. Since it was considered as a natural science it was more or less concerned with the facts and laws of Nature governing any human character or behaviour. This was to a great extent applicable to physical anthropology. The animal ancestry of man was securely laid by Darwin, Huxley, Haeckel and others and in any comparative study, between man and the primates the evolutionary phenomenon is apparent. It becomes a problem when two human races are compared. Thus it is very difficult to trace successfully the physical evolution from the Neandarthal man to any of the modern human races.

Culture, on the other hand, is a distinctive product of man and in this trait man is differentiated from the animals. Kroeber (1948) compares the physical and the cultural aspects as two polar fields. He writes: "it is evident that anthropology is chiefly constellated about two complimentary but polar fields; first, man himself viewed like any other animal; and second, man's culture as that extraordinary product, that all-powerful exudate, influential above all on himself, which is peculiar to man and sets him off from all other animals." Even cultural anthropology was pervaded with the evolutionary hypothesis towards the latter part of the nineteenth century and the beginning of the present one. It was believed that the culture of the non-literate societies was cruder than the Euro-American culture and therefore in the evolutionary scale the former was lower and the latter higher. This ethnocentric idea has now been found to be erroneous and many anthropologists look upon the cultures of the so-called primitive and backward peoples from an altogether different point of view.

The pioneers in this respect were Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict. They recognized each culture as legitimate expression of its potentialities. There is no absolute normality or abnormality of social behaviour. An abnormal is one deviating from his own cultural pattern. Herskovits (Bidney, 1954) has rightly criticized the use of the term "primitive." He emphasizes its use descriptively as a synonym for non-literate. The evolutionary hypothesis was soon found to be inadequate in social anthropology

Redfield (1954) points out : "The prevailing orientation of anthropology since its beginning has been more strongly directed towards science than towards history but the proposition will be challenged.' According to him "in England at least during the nineteenth century anthropology has seemed to serve both history and science." Even today this kind of duality of opinion is seen in England; Evans-Pritchard treats anthropology as history while Radcliffe-Brown as science. At any rate the modern trend in Anthropology of treating the various cultures as so many relative parallels invalidate the evolutionary approach. A value has to be attached to each culture.

Of the values attached to cultures the most epoch-making has been the survival value in the Functional Theory of Malinowski. Even in this respect Bose's contribution appears to be earlier than Malinowski, as will be evident from the following words of Bose: "We can now define Culture as the crystallized phase of man's life activities. It includes certain forms of action closely associated with particular objects and institutions: habitual attitudes of mind transferable from one person to another with the aid of mental images conveyed through speech-symbols. *All of these either serve directly to maintain man in the struggle for existence, or help him indirectly by bringing in a sense of strength and power when he is sorely afflicted in that struggle.*"

According to Malinowski survival value is the only absolute value in a culture. The Functional Theory attempts to show the function at the base of all cultural institutions. They are necessary for the satisfaction of the basic human needs and impulses. Every social institution is useful in a particular society to promote its well-being and in the regulation of an orderly life in critical times. This is a sort of biological evaluation.

Another kind of sociological value is attached to culture and this entails a comparative sociological approach. This functionalism is due to Radcliffe-Brown and differs from that of Malinowski in the methodological approach. According to this method all moral and religious values are products of social lives and they function in promoting the unity and welfare of a particular society. The ultimate value is the same survival value of Malinowski.

Applied Anthropology and Statement on Human Rights

Social anthropology is fast becoming an applied science. The empirical knowledge is derived from field investigations. The evolutionary anthropologists with their enthnocentric concepts undertook to assist the so-called primitive peoples to achieve the goal of modern civilization. This is now changed and the present day anthropologists beginning with Franz Boas and Ruth Benedict pleaded for a high degree of tolerance and respect for cultural differences. Each individual is bound up by the social ideals and moral codes of his own society and he must respect the right of others as well. The ethnocentric ideas were no doubt propagated widely by the missionaries of the various religions, who found a wide scope among the non-literate societies.

This respect for other cultures is at the base of the Statement on Human Rights (1947) framed by Herskovits and submitted to the United Nations Commission on Human Rights. It is based on three basic propositions :—

(1) " The individual realizes his personality through his culture, hence respect for individual differences entails a respect for cultural differences."

(2) " Respect for differences between cultures is validated by the scientific fact that no technique of qualitatively evaluating cultures has been discovered."

(3) " Standards and values are relative to the culture from which they derive so that any attempt to formulate postulates that grow out of the beliefs or moral codes of one culture must to that extent detract the applicability of any Declaration of Human Rights to mankind as a whole."

In India, we have a large number of aboriginal tribes and backward classes whose welfare has been a problem to the various State Governments. Unfortunately, however, the same ethnocentric idea appears to dominate the scene. Being, under the authoritative control of the Governments the problem is looked upon with sympathy and not with respect. Otherwise, what right have we to offer them various kinds of franchise and similar civilized favours, which are entirely foreign to their own culture ?

Another example will explain the attitude better. The Adimjāti Sevak Sangha runs a journal known as *Vanyajāti* meant for the welfare of the aboriginal tribes. A literal translation of the term in English will be "wild races." Such a term in these days of anthropological thinking is not only a misnomer but also applies a stigma of inferiority. Our definition of the term "primitive" should by now change. Anthropology in India has long travelled along misdirected paths and urgent re-orientation is called for. We have all of a sudden begun to apply anthropology without due acquaintance with many of its fundamentals, as they have gradually evolved in the peculiar situation of India.

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DANCE, DANCERS AND DANCE CRITICS OF TODAY

By U. S. Krishna Rao

Art in any form is generally influenced by the environment and by the economic, cultural and political set-up of a particular time. The art of Dance has been no exception to this. Today we are living in a fast moving, machine era replete with both the benefits and marauding influences of modern science, and these are reflected in the works of most of the modern writers, poets, painters, sculptors and even in the designs of the architects. One should therefore find such modernistic tendencies even in Indian Music and Dance. Some of the great artistes of the bygone era should certainly turn in their graves if they were to listen to the modern innovations in musical traditions. However in classical dance such modernistic tendencies are creeping in but slowly. In our classical dances we find a dance literature full of mythology, ancient lore, *Sṛngāra bhāva* of bygone ages, narrations of anecdotes of mythological personages. If one were to witness a *Bharata Nātyam* performance one evening, one sees the same routine of items starting from the invocational dance *Alarippu*, followed by *Jathiswaram*, *S'abdam*, *Varṇam*, *Padams* and *Tillana*. This pattern is no doubt well balanced, giving the dancers scope to develop and exhibit their talents and at the same time giving comparative respite in between the strenuous and exhausting rhythmic dances. Such a pattern came into existence nearly a century and a half ago. Today, thanks to the popularity of dance, these patterns are suffering superficial changes at the hands of individual dance tutors. But mainly it has been a case of the same old wine being sampled in new bottles. However, there have been many attempts to introduce ballets on modern themes and similar other innovations. These have been, so far, few and far between although some of them have been real artistic successes. Even in matters of costume, stage, lighting and musical accompaniment there have been many

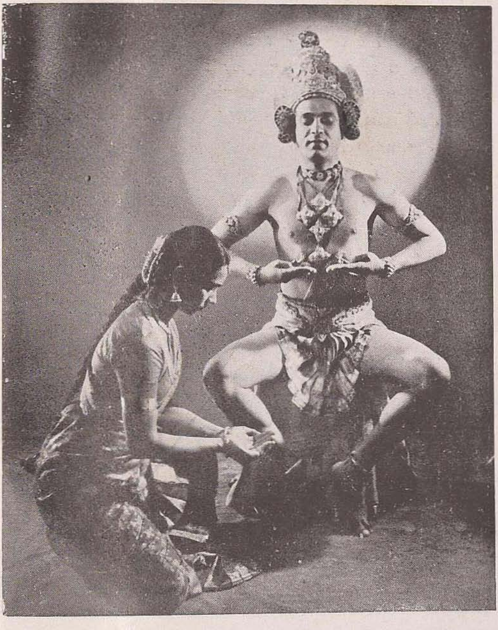
changes in consonance with the various factors that influence the dance stage of today. Years ago *Bharata Nātyam* dancers were wearing a costume made up of an inner satin pyjama over which was tied a gorgeous saree draping up to the knee. Thi costume gave the dancer a firm back and waist line and complete freedom of movement. Some of the modern critics may think that such a costume is not very artistic inasmuch as it makes for rather ungainly body lines. This costume is even today worn by artistes who are sticklers to classical tradition. The new *Bharata Nātyam* costume which has come into vogue since the last ten or twelve years is designed like a dhoti with beautiful central pleats reaching a little below the knee. Such a costume is beautiful to look at, provided it is worn by a well-formed person as it aims to bring out in sharp outline the contours of the body of the dancer. These costumes are reminiscent of those of the figures and figurines found in some of the ancient temples of India. These have, however, become too hackneyed today with the result that we can contemplate a complete change of *Bharata Nātyam* costumes within a decade or two. In *Kathakali*, the traditional costumes and make up are worn even today, specially by those *Kathakali* actors who take part in the professional dance dramas in Kerala. But some of the *Kathakali* dancers of today have changed their costumes and make-up to suit the modern stage.

All of us know that our noble culture had suffered an eclipse during the days of foreign domination. The educational ideals and methods had been almost completely divorced from Indian cultural traditions. Today as a free nation our elders have taken the right step in initiating the youth of today in our glorious heritage and cultural traditions. This has had a profound beneficial influence on the appreciation of the classical dance art of India, because most of these dances are built on our ancient lore and culture. Thus, at present, two apparently opposing forces are affecting and moulding our dance art, the one that lays stress on our glorious ancient culture and the other, the impact of modernism on all art. Between these two forces the modern dancers in course of time are bound to evolve something which is representative of the growing times and our prestine culture.

In these revivalistic days, however, we are faced with many salutory as well as derogatory influences. The demand for dance has become so great since the last ten to fifteen years that even in every small town we find persons posing as dance tutors and teaching some sort of a dance to ardent students. In bigger cities one naturally finds a larger number of dance tutors whose number is increasing day by day. Dance is probably the only one field in which a person can claim professional and tutorial rights even without the necessity of passing any elimination or proficiency test, or some times, sad to say, even without any semblance of the knowledge of dance. There are however some good dance institutions in most of the big cities of India, which are recognised and which are doing yeoman service in the progress of dance. But these institutions are not capable of supplying the increasing demand for teachers because although they train students to become good dancers, all good dancers cannot become good teachers. Teaching dance and performing dances are two separate gifts and very rarely does one find the two fused in one and the same person. As most students join dance institutions mainly for the glamour of performing on the stage, they usually do not attempt to qualify themselves to become good dance tutors. The number of persons who join dance institutions with the intention of becoming good dance teachers also is very small. Hence in such a medley, the gullible public are thrown into the hands of adventurers and dilettantes whose only claim to dance may be a few months of training under some teacher of good, bad or indifferent repute. Next, it must be remembered also that learning dance under great teachers is a costly affair, far beyond the limited means of the middle class folk. It has therefore, become a monopoly of the rich. Hence real talent gets very little encouragement either from the family or from the public. The conditions, however, are slightly better now because of the Art Scholarships instituted by the Government of India for the benefit of deserving students who need encouragement and help. But mostly the middle class prefer to requisition the services of dance tutors who possess very little knowledge. It is today a tragedy to see many good students who have all the requisite talents for becoming good dancers but who are trained very badly. Such

SIVA IN PENANCE

PARVATI OFFERING FLOWERS TO SIVA



Posed by
The author and his wife
Srimathi U. K. Chandrabhaga Devi

TILLANA

By the author and his wife
Srimathi U. K. Chandrabhaga Devi

students gain publicity mainly by their innate talent and not by their technique. How brilliant they could be can be judged by taking the examples of a few students who have first been trained by such bad and indifferent dance tutors and who later mastered the art at the feet of teachers of great repute and knowledge. These students are like brilliant stars in a firmament of ill-trained artistes.

In all big cities, therefore, we now have numerous dancers and dance recitals. But the discerning public can always judge and sift good art from bad. No amount of undue publicity or boosting in local papers can bring a so-called artiste to the forefront. The life of an artiste is necessarily one of profound struggle, not only for maintaining proper standards but also for attaining higher and higher levels of creative artistry. In such a struggle the artistes, who come and shine ephemerally like meteors, fade away as quickly The greatness of a dancer can only be judged by the repeated successes he or she has over a long period of ten to fifteen years, at least, rather than by a few freak performances on the stage which are usually held at the instigation of a few well-wishers or personal friends.

The present day dance consciousness is indeed a great step towards the progress of this art in our country. Dance that was for a long time hidden and avoided by the so-called intelligentsia is once again gaining the honoured position it had long ago in the hearts of the people. We have now many types of artistes, art-lovers and art-critics in dance who are all helping in numerous ways the gradual resuscitation of the art. Even the art dilettantes and spurious art-critics have a place in the national upheaval, for they are in a way making the public art-conscious, though their aims may differ from those of the true votaries of art. It is therefore interesting to make a brief survey of our present day artistes and gauge their capacity for good or evil.

These artistes may be professional, amateur or commercial, not that such distinction amongst them is strictly watertight. There are many artistes who may not be professionals, but have a professional standard. Likewise there are many 'professionals' whose standards are distinctly amateurish. As for the 'commercial' artistes they exist in large numbers and they cater to their 'employers' or the public tastes.

Our artistes may be classified into the following ten different types :

(1) The Artiste Supreme ; (2) The Artiste Creative ; (3) The Artiste Interpretative ; (4) The Artiste Student ; (5) The Artiste Imitative ; (6) The Artiste Workman ; (7) The Artiste Egoist ; (8) The Artiste Dilettante ; (9) The Artiste Juvenile and (10) The Artiste Self-Styled.

THE ARTISTE SUPREME

Genius in art is a complete fusion of creative ability and interpretative talent. Such art geniuses are rare, as the two faculties require unification of diverse talents such as patience, high imagination, thorough knowledge of the art, all the external graces necessary for dance personality, diligence and the capacity of hard and strenuous work. Such great geniuses are often dreamers who are highly unconventional in their behaviour and often eccentric in their temperament. Their experiences may or may not conform to an age or to a civilization or to a race or even to a nation. Such geniuses may be even out of place in the present day because their notions and philosophies may run counter to accepted thoughts and ideas. Hence they are typed as dreamy and impractical. Yet they are symbolic of the nation's art treasure, and therefore deserve of all our veneration. They are therefore the Artistes Supreme, amongst whom shine the illustrious names of the great musical Trinity of South India, Thyagarāja, Shama Shastry and Dikshitar. In the dance world such creative giants are rare.

THE ARTISTE CREATIVE

A genius of the creative type may not be capable of intepretation, specially so in dance. Such creative artistes are usually great teachers, composers, *nattuvanars*, etc. who fashion other's raw artistic talents and convert them into potent, vibrating interpretative artistes. Today in the dance and music world there are a few such geniuses who mould our young dancers or musicians into great exponents of dance or music, who compose new dances or new musical pieces and even operas. The students of such masters may in due course become teachers, remaining as they do

interpretative performances also in dance or music. This is a double gain and so the value of the creative artistes is immense. Quite often their creative impulse gets fully drawn out by the natural gifts and inclinations of their brilliant students with the result each student gets a separate orientation from the same teacher and they all blossom out in different directions.

THE ARTISTE INTERPRETATIVE

In succession to the first two, we come to the third type of artistes who are gifted mainly with the talent for interpretation of the songs or dances taught to them by their teachers. Great teachers teach and turn out many individual students, but all these students of the same teacher may not possess the same interpretative talent. Some may have a natural gift for interpretating the music or the dance taught to them. Some others may have a gifted voice for music or a gifted body for dance. When both these gifts are present in a student, he generally shines as great interpretative artiste. Some of the artistes may possess creative ability also. Their art, as time goes on, attains an individual brilliance because they are capable of giving to their art a richness of their own. If such interpretative artistes who possess only interpretative talent become perforce teachers their life becomes an artistic tragedy. Because they may not possess the necessary patience and critical view to teach others. They may themselves be great exponents but their students will find it difficult to attain their standard, not because of shortcomings, if any, of the students, but because of the lack of teaching capacity in such artistes. The art of teaching is definitely different from the art of interpretation. At best students of such artistes remain secondhand replicas of their teachers, because all their innate individuality and talents will have been destroyed by the mechanical mode of teaching necessarily adopted by teachers of this type.

THE ARTISTE STUDENT

The fourth type of artistes may be called the artiste students. Students of this type usually remain as students of dance or music all their life. They go from teacher to teacher and try to learn

something from each one of them. They have generally a knack of getting something from every teacher. Their experiences are thus varied and their art has therefore sometimes a rich variety. But as they are wanderers from one firmament to another, their studies are usually incomplete. The result is, although they possess a rich variety, they fail to attain perfection. One redeeming feature, however, about them is that they always remain students, inquisitive, ever-learning and ever-experimenting with new ideas. Their principles in art which they imitate from several teachers might be in opposite directions and hence theirs is usually a hotch-potch of many conflicting ideas.

THE ARTISTE IMITATIVE

These artistes who thrive on imitation of other artistes are quite prevalent in many of the big cities of India. Their only claim to art is that they are self-taught and that they have a natural gift to copy others. They are common in fields of art such as music, dance and painting. Lacking originality their endeavours in any artistic field make them artistic rovers. As they are good imitators quite often they hoodwink the public by claiming originality in whatever they do. At times they get quite an ovation for their successful imitations. But when the same public come across the original forms, they get disillusioned. Such artistes, however, are useful in that they keep alive the public interest and to a certain extent help them in the appreciation of good art.

THE ARTISTE WORKMAN

There are the usual craftsmen whose main approach to any art is purely from a business point of view. As mammon is their main object of worship they are clever enough to cater to the demands of their employers. As such they have changing standards. There are many families who have retained some form of art or craft as an heirloom. Many persons who are engaged in handicrafts belong to this type. Some of these possess a spark of genius which eggs them on to create excellent works of art. This may be the result of an inspirational urge or a need to escape from or revolt against the constant routine type of demands made

on them. After such phenomenal work they relapse into their usual humdrum existence. Theirs is unfortunately a hard life depending as they do upon the whims and fancies of their art patrons.

THE ARTISTE EGOIST

Almost all artistes have an ego that drives them to higher and higher levels of artistic achievements. But there are some artistes who claim that they are the only persons who are capable of representing a particular form of art. They are actually a great danger to the artistic world as their ideas are parochial, dogmatic and lop-sided. Often their end is tragic, because as time marches on, they relapse into utter frustration and fade away into insignificance.

THE ARTISTE DILETTANTE

In the eighth type of artistes we have the dilettante, who have actually no claim to any art. They are playing a great havoc in the realm of dance. As dance is of recent revival, the dignity and depth of the art is not quite known to the public which more often than not falls a prey into the hands of dilettantes. These dilettantes learn a few catch words here and there, learn a few things here and there, read a few books here and there and assured with this assorted and ill-based information, they start teaching dance and other arts in many towns and villages in a perfectly nonchalant and irresponsible manner with bombast as their chief weapon of attack to all well meant criticisms. They, therefore, constitute a danger to the art world. Fortunately, however, they are found out before it is too late, especially in bigger towns. But in the smaller towns and villages the dilettantes hold almost an undisputed sway. They are satisfied with low fees and low remuneration for their teaching and stage work and thus contract many supporters in their places of adoption. Time alone can root out this menace.

THE ARTISTE JUVENILE OR CHILD

Most parents are proud of the artistic talent of their children. Children become easy successes in the field of dance even before they reach their teens, mainly because they are children and have

generally an innate talent for dance. Given proper training and encouragement they may become first-rate artistes. But quite often their artistic career stops when they are fifteen or sixteen or the problem of their marriage crops up. Somehow in our country dance and marriage for the girls do not go together and the child dance prodigies end up as dutiful wives. Even for boys the situation more or less is the same, as their parents expect them to be bread-winners and not artistes with a chequered life and uncertain income. Better encouragement at home after their teens and proper facilities for training would make them truly good artistes. In the last two decades we have seen many child artistes, of whom only a handful have evolved into full blown grown up performers. The rest are ensconced in their family circles.

THE ARTISTE SELF-STYLED

This last type are a positive menace to art, because they call themselves artistes and all the while they generally know next to nothing about art. The less said about them the better.

In the wake of the dance revival there is a keener interest shown by the public and the press regarding dance performances. Constant appraisal of all types of dances have made them appreciate the good and decry the bad. Art criticism of a definitely constructive type has come into vogue in most of the papers and journals. But in the case of dances and dancers there is also sometimes an uncertain and irrelevant criticism. Sometimes we read about glowing tributes paid to an artiste who, all know, has shaped badly the previous evening. Sometimes the morning papers carry an account of a brilliant dance performance the previous night, only to find later on that the artistes mentioned never appeared on the stage that night: may be these are slips in journalistic etiquette. But these do not help either the dancers or the dance critics.

Criticism is no doubt good for the improvement of art, but it must be tempered with reasonableness, understanding and encouragement of the good art. A famous art critic has laid down certain principles for art criticism which we may well take note of here. According to him (1) Criticism should be written only on

those who are worth criticising. The unimportant and inartistic performances should be merely ignored. Attempts to lay alive such performance give only added publicity to the artistes who should be ignored in the interests of art. (2) Criticism should point out both the good and the bad points of the artistes. No dance performance will be completely free of faults. (3) Excessive use of high flown superlatives and glowing adjectives used for our artist, does not make for good criticism. Most often it shows the sheer ignorance of the critic or his personal interest in the artiste. (4) It is better dance critics avoid in their write-ups all personal references, malice, jealousy, unnecessary comparisons and derogatory remarks on other artistes. (5) No artiste should be personally attacked because every artiste of repute has undergone innumerable hardships and taken great pains to reach his or her present standards and if he or she fails once or twice there is no reason why he or she should be torn to shreds: this failure may be due to quite extraneous factors. (6) Art critics should be sincere in their criticism which should aim at the progress of art. It should not be used for mainly boosting or denouncing an artiste. (7) Criticism should be sympathetic, concise, apt and tolerant. To quote Anantole Frane: "The good critic is he who narrates the adventures of his soul among masterpieces."

And so what about the future? We can confidently say that there is a bright future for all promising dancers and artistes provided they show real zeal, put in hard work, develop the power of concentration and keep sustained interest in their art. The day when dance is introduced into all the Universities will be hailed by lovers of dance as a red letter day. Progress in art can be bettered if there is better co-operation and understanding amongst artistes and art critics. The artiste may be individualistic or egoist but let him be human first.

INDIAN SWARAJ—SOME REFLECTION

BY RAJASEVAPRASAKTA NAVARATNA RAMA RAO

TODAY our thoughts go back to Bāpu, Mahatma Gāndhi, the Father of the Nation, the valiant *satyāgrahi* who secured us our freedom from foreign yoke and all India joins in paying a reverential tribute to his memory.

Often when I have heard our countrymen speak of our having won independence, an uneasy doubt has occurred to me if that is a correct and complete way of describing how independence came to us. If we use the expression in boastful exultation, we shall be erring with the vainglorious gods of the *Upaniṣads*, who, when the Supreme Being gave them victory, vaunted, "Ours indeed is this victory! Ours indeed is this greatness!" (*Kenopaniṣad*: III-14). If, on the other hand, we were to say that independence came to us unsought and unmerited as a half contemptuous gift from a country which no longer cared to maintain domination over us, we would be unjust to the spirit of this great land and ungrateful to the glorious succession of patriots and martyrs who dedicated their all to its service and also foregetful of our countrymen who in every walk of life—literature, law, engineering, industry, politics and administration—demonstrated to the world our fitness for the noblest destiny heaven could give to a nation. It is true we did not win independence—and I believe, we could not have won it—by a victorious war. Our independence has been a victory of peace—an event which blesseth both giver and receiver and is of happy augury to the future of the world, as showing that there is a God who shapes our ends and inspires the heart of man in spite of temporary, though all too frequent, lapses from sanity. There have been glorious episodes in the story of the British in India but nothing more glorious than this; nothing in their domination so well became them as the leaving of it. No nation less great could have done it so graciously and there is nothing in history, nobler or more touching than the growing friendship

between them, our guardian rulers and ourselves, till recently their bitter, unwilling subjects.

The only event in history which at all resembles Britain's abdication of India is the Roman withdrawal from Britain fifteen and a half centuries ago—but the resemblance is superficial, and the points of difference show in relief the extent to which we may justly claim to have *achieved* our independence. The British did not want independence, and the Romans never bestowed a thought on Britain's competency to govern herself. We read that a British deputation waited upon Emperor Honorius requesting him to resume sovereignty over the island to save it from anarchy and the depradations of Norsemen. The emperor told them bluntly that they should shift for themselves. Here in India the nation never missed an opportunity of telling its rulers that it hated alien rule, and that it was quite confident of its own ability to govern herself. Step by step—in industry, in politics, in the professions, and in the administration—Indians fought for and won a lodgment in grades formerly held sacrosanct to whitemen, and proved themselves as good as their best. And in two great wars the Indian fought shoulder to shoulder with the whiteman and was by no means his inferior in prowess. When the war was over, the Indian urge for independence was so strong that a decision became imperative. The British must have felt that in their dream of a world empire they had spread themselves out too thin—and that the lands of palm and pine which they sought to rule had ceased to look up to them as supermen. The exhaustion of war, the readjustment of international values, the problems of an uneasy peace in a shifting and distrustful world must have made them doubt whether it would be wise to spend their strength in enforcing subjection on an unwilling country which was awakening to an awareness of its own strength. They finally decided that it would not only be unwise but suicidal and Wavell was frankly of the opinion that there was no alternative but to govern India by a military force much greater than Britain could afford, or to give India independence with as good grace as possible. And the latter alternative was adopted by the far-seeing statesmen of England, Prime Minister Attlee and Lord Pethick-Lawrence, the Secretary of State for India.

It is not my intention to go into the details of how this was implemented and how the imperial Frankenstein fled from the monster of Hindu-Muslim hatred he had created for his own purposes in other days. The great heart of Britian intended nothing but India's good, but it is not unlikely that the men on the spot who had been nurtured in a paradise of pomp and power could not without bitterness retire into obscurity without "queering the pitch" for their successors and a malicious pleasure in the whirlwind which had been left them to reap as a result of the communal hatreds assiduously sown in the British policy of divide and rule. Fortunately for herself, India had not only longed and worked for independence but fitted herself for it by study, experience and discipline.

We have now moved sufficiently far from the epoch of British departure to be able to get a reasonably correct perspective and form a just estimate of what British rule has meant to us. It would be folly to say we bent before the blast in silent deep disdain and let the legions thunder past and plunged in thought again, for the coming of the British was not a mere irruption of destroying hordes like those of Chengiz or Timurlane. They came to stay, to organise and administer, and were not unwilling to teach us their philosophy of life, their literature, their science, and their art of government. The best of them were sincere believers in the nobility of their mission, noble idealists who felt called to a mission to educate the Indians to be able to govern themselves; and to the credit of Indians it must be said they proved apt pupils.

It is easy to see the irksome evils of the British rule, for they lie on the surface, and are the inevitable incidents of foreign domination. Arrogance of race and colour, calculated exploitation by abuse of economic strength and political power, a partial judiciary discriminating against the governed in every walk and circumstance of life, and habitual insolence in social intercourse—all these were there and seared deep into the consciousness of the subject nation. The airs of martyrdom and exile put on by white potentates while revelling in princely plenty in a land of poverty and hunger, and the assumptions of infallibility which were allowed to even the stupidest of them, were amusing no doubt but certainly did not endear our rulers to us.

Well, all these were there, for all men to see. But I do not think the British were worse than other colonial rulers. From what I have heard and read I believe they were better than most. But this is only one side of the account. If we ask ourselves the question — How did it happen that this land of ours which has all along been such an easy prey to every filibustering or colonising invader, has now become fit not only to govern herself but to hold on high the torch of peace in the vanguard of human progress? — the answer to this will be an introduction to a study of the other side of the account — of what we owe to the British.

The savant and historian C.V. Vaidya in his *History of Mediaeval Hindu India* has a thought-provoking Chapter on the causes which led to the downfall of Northern India. The conquerors, he observes, were not superior to the conquered in hardihood, valour and weapons. The causes he attributes are want of unanimity and the caste system, which together made national resistance impossible. India could not act as a nation, broken up as it was, into a number of mutually hostile kingdoms. Another historian, Dr. V.V. Khare assigns the downfall of the Marāṭha power to the people's want of patriotism. He says;

"The great defect of the Marāṭhas was an absence of patriotism. It is true that this national virtue was of slow and meagre growth in India as a whole and our simple folk had but a poor relation's share of it. The bulk of the people, so long as their private rights, their customs and avocations were left undisturbed cared little if foreigners upset our ruling dynasties and established alien empires. We do not seem to have realised that the highest national virtue is a passionate intolerance of foreign rule."

A love of one's country transcending all other loves and interests has inspired the noblest deeds in Western history and the sublimest poetry in Western literature. An anthology of patriotic poetry would be a voluminous compilation rich with the flowing love and exulting self-dedication to Motherland of every European nation. Our own literature is singularly wanting in this kind of poetry. The Vedas probably relate to a period when the Āryans were wandering clans and though full of magnificent poetry and sublime speculation they do not (I say it open to correction) touch on love of

Motherland. The epics disclose to us a world of heroic life—devoted loyalties, sublime courage, supreme fidelity to eternal truths—but there is no such thing as love of Motherland. The people of Ayōdhya loved S'rī Rāmacandra and not Uttara Kōs'sala; the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas had friends who gladly laid down their lives for them—but there is no talk of love of Hastināpura. So with later poets also. The only reference to love of land I have come across is in Bhāsa's *Svapnavāsavadatta*, where Yaugandharāyaṇa when questioned why he had had recourse to desperate expedients answers—to save Kausāmbi.

Our forbears were second to none in manly virtues, but our historical climate was probably not favourable to the conception of and development of an all India-patriotism. India was a congeries of petty and usually mutually hostile principalities. Vaidya says that the Rājaputs fell, because with stubborn and arrogant emulation they fought and slew one another. The history of India, from the Himālayas to Cape Comorin was a welter of dynasties that rose and fought and fell and had not vision or patriotism enough to unite to keep India inviolate from the foreigner. Difficulties of communication and interchange of news kept the fragments strangers to one another. The states were dynasties and not peoples, and catastrophic upheavals among rulers probably left the common man uninterested. The people as a whole were not as yet politically or nationally awake, except when a S'ivāji or a Nānak appealed to their love of *dharma* and manhood and even then it was more loyalty to a towering personality, or to a sacred tradition, than that love of country, which should transcend all differences of caste and custom and weld seeming deversity into an indivisible whole. It was only when we came under the British rule that the idea of the essential oneness of India rose into the consciousness of her children. With the improvement of communications, and the emergence of the press, tardy and troubled though it was, the people of this great land came to know one another and to realise kinship from a hundred similarities of origin, feature, custom, culture and faith. We realised that north and south, east and west, are all India and that India is our Motherland. The British taught us their literature, their sciences and above all their

history and their political philosophy and their art of government. We learnt that love of country is a thing beyond all other love and its service a worship beyond all worships. Yet this great faith did not come all at once, or equally in all parts of this land. When a part of India, more politically alive or possibly more tormented than the rest, rose against the foreigner in 1857 and fought for independence, it was Indians from other parts of India that rushed to the rescue of the British and helped them to slaughter the soldiers of freedom's battle. But patriotism and the passion of independence once kindled in the human breast cannot be extinguished by blood. The idea of oneness became a fact, the love of Motherland a faith, and the resolve to make her honoured and free on earth a passion. It must be gratefuly acknowledged that many good and noble Britishers were in sympathy with this growing ideal and helped in its growth in clearness of definition, but the main credit must go to the National Congress. In our Indian Valhalla, Dadabhoy Naoroji, B. G. Tilak, Surendra Nath Banerji, Pherozeshah Mehta, C. Vijayaraghavachari, Lala Lajpat Rai, Motilal Nehru, C. R. Das and our other great *karma-s'ūras* must find niches of honour. Even outside Congress gifted Indians who co-operated with government—Ranade, Gokhale, Sivaswami Aiyar, Sapru, Jayakar (here again I mention but a few of the many of whom our country is proud) demonstrated to the world their right to be ranked with the best of all lands. India indubitably became and felt like one. The progress made in unification could be guaged by the fact that whereas the martyrs of 1857 died comparatively unwept and unhonoured, there was mourning in every home as for a personal bereavement over the victims of Jallianwala.

The weakness of the national resurgence in the earlier stages was that it was confined to the educated classes, and that the bulk of the population was still politically unawake. As Khare justly observes, so long as the even tenor of their lives remained undisturbed, they cared little who ruled at the top. But soon the sacred love of Motherland reached their conciousness also. The awakening came when one of the greatest men the world has produced, appeared in their midst, and moving among his

humble countrymen as one of themselves spoke to them of God and Truth and Love and of the sacred call of the Motherland. I know of no other achievement in history so sublime as this of "the naked fakir" as Winston Churchill (now Sir) called him. He found a people contented with their lot, even like sheep domesticated by foreign shepherds ; he put the pride of manhood and the love of country into their hearts, and converted them into a nation of resolute men whom the British recognised as impossible to hold in subjection any longer. Our *purāṇas* have it that when a Master comes down on an epoch-making mission on earth He is accompanied by great comrades and heroic lieutenants ; and so it was in the case of Gāndhiji. Jawahar Lal Nehru, Vallabhai Patel, C. Rajagopalachari, Rajendra Prasad—here again I mention a few only of the many worth mentioning—all great men who would add a lustre to any country gathered round the Mahatma for the work of preparing the country for freedom, for taking up the burden of governing it when the British left, and for working out for it a constitution which, drawing from all that is best in political experience shaped this all to our peculiar needs and realities. And since then, thanks to the great and good men who have, under God, guided our destinies, our country is growing in stature and in the affection and respect of the world.

The British, after nearly two hundred years of domination, are no longer with us. What have they left with us of good or evil ? I believe that they have left much of both and that on the whole the good they have done will live for ever, while the evil has already in some part been effaced, and God willing, will in course of time be nothing more than a memory and a warning.

The British unified India, developed it with communications and public works, and enabled its inhabitants to see and know one another as fellow countrymen. They gave us the keys to their culture, and placed at our disposal the West's accumulated treasures of knowledge and experience—its literature, its philosophy, its history and its ideals. They imported and implanted here and nurtured till it struck root and became indigenous to our soil, their beautiful language rich with the spoils of time and its noble literature. English is now as much an Indian language

as domiciled Europeans and Anglo-Indians are Indian citizens. A large number of us have for generations employed it in our most intimate thoughts and communications and our social intercourse. To discard it now would be utter folly, not unlike that of burning our wardrobe of foreign cloth which we have made our own by honest payment of price. The great ideals of justice, equality and brotherhood, and of the dignity and fundamental rights of man which inform our constitution and inspire our political thought we owe to the West, through Britain. These are the enduring gifts which claim our gratitude.

The evils are the exploitations which long made us hewers of wood and drawers of water in our own land. The derisive hectoring which fortunately has disappeared with them, the arrogant discrimination against us which engendered a sullen inferiority complex which can only die with a generation, the communal and class hatreds which they set up and fostered and which rivers of blood have not yet extingisuhed, the bolstering up of interests hostile to the nation as buttresses of their own empire, which only the patriotism of our princes and the wisdom of our statesmen prevented from being an insurmountable obstacle to unity—these are undoubtedly great and wicked evils, but they are not beyond the power of good-will and patriotism to eradicate.

Love of India and a consciousness of unity is their greatest legacy to us. Their most oppressive acts strengthened this consciousness. It is not as though patriotism is their gift to us any more than a child's love of the mother is the midwife's gifts. Love of country is as natural as love of the mother. This body of ours derives its material constituents from Indian soil and is nourished by its products. Our intellectual and spiritual content comes from Indian agelong culture. Well may we say, we are a dust which India,

Bore, shaped, made aware
Gave her flowers to love, her ways to roam
A body of India's, breathing India's air
Washed by her rivers, blessed by suns of home.

Jai Hind.

A SOCIAL BACKGROUND TO HAIDAR ALI AND TIPU SULTAN

By Dr. K.N.V.Sastri, M.A.,Ph.D. (Lond.) F.R. Hist.S.

This is a sketch of the country and people of Mysore in the eighteenth century based on Captain Arthur's Journal, a few Jesuit letters, district gazetteers, a few old Maps of the country and the Baramahal Records. Historical fiction as well as personal experience of the author in every part of the dominions of Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan have also helped in the preparation of this short note. It is obvious that there can be no reference to political, economic and military matters which may claim to enter into the study.

During the thirty years of research on the history of Mysore in the second half of the eighteenth century the author has noticed lack of thoroughness in one group and ignorance of fundamental matters in the other. Of the two groups of historians on the subject, while it is impossible to fill the gap in the first set, an attempt may be made to dispel darkness in the second, especially on social matters which must be Greek and Latin to North Indians.

Nature is very kind to India, but she has been specially 'interested' in the affairs of Mysore. She has given the country a well defined frontier on all but the northern side. The Eastern and the Western Ghauts constitute a wall in the east, south and west, and one can easily say that what is below the Ghauts is not Mysore proper. Even in the north, Nature has given a clear boundary; the Krishna constitutes its frontier. A line drawn across the peninsula from Karwar to Kurnool will be the approximate limit of the length of Mysore northwards. A second partiality of Nature for Mysore is the climate which is neither hot nor cold, neither wet nor dry, neither healthy nor unhealthy. This is partly due to the general height of the whole country above the sea-level and partly due to the distance from the sea on either side. The monsoons are so regular and bountiful that they constitute a third blessing of Nature. The wealth and welfare of the people of Mysore are dependent upon the water supplied by the two monsoons to

tanks, anicuts and big reservoirs. One is tempted to add a fourth significant gift, namely, the numerous rocks which rise sometimes to the height of several thousand feet above the sea level and dominate the surrounding country. Every traveller in this part of India has been struck by the conspicuous sight of rock with walls surrounding their summits. The historical part played by these rock-forts can never be underestimated in the history of South India. A few historians go so far as to include the existence of elephants and tigers as another feature of Mysore; but to this one, may add the special breed of the cattle, horses and sheep as well as the special variety of corn known locally as rāgi (*eleusine coracana*) and the particularly favourite class of flowers known as *campaka* in Sanskrit.

II

When all is said and done about the endowments of Nature on Mysore proper, one should, however, not forget the immediate dependecies of Mysore and their lot in nature history. These shadows of Mysore, politically her satellites, were the Konkan and Coorg, Coimbatore, the Karnātaka (mentioned as the Carnātic) and the Ceded Districts. There were smaller territories in between these, such as Wynaad, the Nilgiris, the Baramahals, Southern Maharāṣṭra and the inhabited portions of the jungles everywhere. There were numerous islands close to the coast of the Arabian sea, with their lot thrown with that of their neighbours. Nature was not uniformly kind to the poor relations of Mysore. The Konkan is sandy, saline and so shaped as to have length without breadth. It is also highly humid and sticky in nine out of twelve months in a year. Fishery is the best industry in it and cocoanut is the only commercial crop. Consequently poverty is quite common. Coorg is not better; its poverty is due to absence of capital and labour. Coimbatore is so rich and attractive that it has been an apple of discord between Mysore and Madurai, and the Nilgiris serve as a barrier between the two. The elephants of these high mountains were a terror to every one. The Baramahals and the Eastern Karnātaka were neither poor nor rich, and they had many things in common with Mysore. But they too were a bone of contention,

and the competitors were Mysore and Madras, the latter representing a naval power and the former acting as a land power. The Ceded Districts and the Southern Mahārāṣṭra were more or less in the same latitudes, hot and dry and exposed to famine. They could never be strong enough to be independent of foreigners and so were constantly changing hands, according to the strength of the rivals for their possession, namely between Mysore on one side and the Marāṭhas and Mughals on the other. So far as the jungle states and the sea islands were concerned, Mysore could have very little say; because they too were a source of warfare between a land power represented by Mysore and a sea power seated at Goa under the Portuguese.

III

Putting the two together, Mysore proper and Mysore beyond, one gets the following data for the first part of the background attempted in this short essay, relating to nature or geography of Mysore. The homeland or mother-country is an extensive one, measuring about 400 by 400 miles, well-watered, mild, easily communicated, populous and industrious. One can have a panoramic view of the country for miles and miles from the top of every high rock. The dependencies or daughter-countries all around are varied and differ radically from one another. The heart of the western dependencies is hidden in the inaccessible spots of the thickly forested mountains, and that of the eastern ones has nothing to cover it or even to protect it, with the result that one could overrun the east more easily than he could do the west albeit without any reward for all the trouble. The southern dependencies were probably more profitable and easy of possession. But the worst of all these colonial pieces were the northern ones which had neither the charms of the southern ones nor the easy accessibility of the eastern ones nor the attractions of the western ones if for nothing but the excitement of jungle warfare.

In other words, the first thing which ought to be noted for a necessary background of the history of Mysore under Haider Ali and Tipu Sultan is that there were two Mysores, one a mother-country and the other daughter-countries which together may be

said to be her dependencies. One can easily imagine them to be two circles one within the other, the inner one being a larger one and the other being a very much smaller one, the proportion between the two being three to one. It is a sort of circular patch with a belt of land all around, a unit with auxiliaries surrounding it.

IV

Within this large undigested mass of territory lay a mass of humanity incapable of making progress in any direction. They were not interested in political affairs; the proverb was 'welcome to Rāma: welçome to Rāvaṇa.' They feared every one who held office under government and did not care whether he was black or white: they paid their taxes and other financial demands and kept themselves aloof from the circle of administrators. Those who lived in smaller towns and in villages went to the length of building and living in inconspicuous houses, of wearing unfashionable dress, of burying the valuable ornaments somewhere, of talking little to others and of letting the sleeping dogs lie. It was always a problem for the rulers to find out the ideas and feelings of such subjects and conversely those subjects would never know the policy or plans of their rulers. They lived in watertight compartments.

V

Social life of such timid people was not an admirable one. Their outlook was extremely limited, as they did not come into contact with any outsiders (except the Christian Missionaries of Europe for whom they had a prejudice). Their life was modelled on the good old Hindu system characterised by castes and guilds. That is to say, everywhere people lived in communities organised on a religious basis, as Hindus, Muslims, Christians, etc. Every town and village contained separate quarters for these communities and they enjoyed just a minimum of civic life. It is doubtful if they combined successfully against the enemy at their gates. Espionage against one another was quite a familiar matter and hence there was a common saying in the country, "Look! Be sure of the men about you when you talk during the day. Keep your mouth shut after the sun sets."

VI

Owing to the predominance of Hinduism, tolerance was a universal phenomenon. But as if by contradiction there was also untouchability, unseeability, unapproachability and a sense of uncleanliness against the 'fifth caste' inhabitants of the country, and the latter accepted this low status without question. As a matter of fact they lived in their own corner of the village, acting as the watch and ward of that village. They helped the village in catching thiefs, murderers and other miscreants whenever a theft, murder or other criminal act was reported. Conversely the Brāhmaṇas enjoyed the highest status everywhere. They were not only considered as the natural leaders of the country, but also the best to plan and execute health and welfare schemes. They lived on the patrimony which usually consisted of wet lands donated by the kings and queens and high personages of the state for 'keeping the lamp ever burning and praying for their well-being and long life'; but the Brāhmaṇas earned fees as school-masters, astrologers, petition-writers, etc. for all of which they had exclusive qualifications. One should not forget at the same time that Veeras'aivas, to whom the land of Kannada was home, refused to accept the supremacy of the Brāhmaṇa and followed only their own *gurus*. One must remember also that a large number of casual visitors passed daily through all important towns and villages on their way from Banaras to Rāmēs'waram, as *bairāgis*, *sannyasis*, etc. There were also individuals known as *siddhas* who were absolutely indifferent to the affairs of the world and spent all their days and nights in temples and monasteries, under trees, on the tops of hillocks or on the banks of rivers; these attracted visitors of all sorts who were offered food and drink in return for blessings. The Muslims had their mosques and minarets and celebrated their annual *Ids* and *Muharrams* without the interference of the Hindus. If disturbances occurred at all they were exceptions instead of a general rule. The Christians too flourished similarly, although their prejudice to the Brāhmaṇas was not a secret and often a source of social disorder especially under the fanatical Jesuit leadership.

VII

The Abbe Dubois has given a picture of the Hindu manners and customs of the period in his book. One has to read the factual portion and eschew his opinions if one should benefit from the reading of that book. A few prominent features, however, may be noted here. *Sati* or self-immolation of the widow on the husband's pyre was not considered a crime, and so instances of *sati* were often noticed by all travellers throughout the country. Holi festival was almost a nuisance but albeit quite a popular one; even Hindu gods and goddesses were shown to indulge in romance in the spring season and a programme known as *Vasantha Utsavam* was arranged in the calendar to suit each locality. Marriages always ended with a "procession" for the bride and the bride-groom both before and after the religious ceremony prescribed for them; in this procession fire-works, music and dancing, gifts to the town folk, etc. were conspicuous and, wherever the bride's father was well-to-do, courtesans were engaged to enhance the prestige of the occasion with special types of music and dancing. Once a year the Hindus of important towns organised a community festival known as *dhātri havana* in a neighbouring garden or forest and enjoyed themselves with a grand dinner, a religious discourse, etc. irrespective of their means and status. Somewhat on a smaller and minor scale a similar concourse was arranged on the *Uttarāyaṇa Sankarānti* day about the middle of January every year, but emphasis on this occasion was on games and pastimes rather than on satisfaction for material or spiritual hunger. *Dasara* was of course a national festival. *Dīpāvali* was a semi-religious institution while the entire month of *Kārtīka* was devoted to lights and lighting for the propitiation of the Almighty. Death was not a mere departure of a spirit from this world; it was a source of grief and mourning by the entire community. Every one wept and washed after the disposal of the dead body.

VIII

The organisation of social life was thus communalistic, but it was also pluralistic. That is to say, individuals were tackled by their associations with recognised clubs or corporations, a

merchant through his guild, a schoolmaster through his educational circle, and so on. Even justice in civil matters was administered by a *panchāyat* of local men or by peers, on the principle that neighbours can judge a matter involving personal status or honour better than strangers. Public opinion was given thus a very high value in social matters.

IX

All that has been stated so far about social life and organisation should not be taken to mean that it was devoid of attraction. Art and architecture have always been associated with the people of Mysore, and Mysoreans have therefore been always famous for their æsthetic tastes. Their temples are well-known in Indian history, but most travellers were impressed with those temples which stood on the tops of high rocks or hills dominating the land about themselves. The solitary Brāhmaṇa or concerned priest, washed and robed in silk or untouched cotton dhoti, would climb the steep slope step by step upto the top with a brass or copper pot of pure water and flowers and food offerings, do his duty in solitude and get back to his home with the full satisfaction of having done his duty for the day. In most of these hill-tops, there would be a tank or well with a perennial supply of cool, delicious water, and sometimes there would be a cave with a couple of bears, tigers or panthers doing no harm to their familiar priest. Mosques too were conspicuous at places where the Muslims lived, and there were places like Channapatna, Sira and Madhugiri which preserved the tombs of great men among the Muslims. There were annual festivals in all these places, attracting thousands of fellow-beings from far and near that one cannot forget the annual festivals like *Muharram* when the Hindus joined the Muslims in fasting and praying. The common 'tiger' form of austerity associated with such observations was adopted everywhere, and the abuse of the privilege was a source of friction between the two communities very frequently. The Christian Churches were not many, but the Catholic Church at Srirangapattana was there under the stewardship of the Abbe Dubois, and the Protestants were still a community of Europeans without any Church of their own.

X

Next to temples, the huge reservoirs, the net work of canals, aqueducts and underground channels were characteristic of culture and civilisation of Mysore before Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan. Sulekere in Honnali taluk, Moti Talav in Pandavapuram taluk, Bangāra Doddi aqueduct across the southern branch of the Kāveri river around the island of Srirangapattana, Chikkadevarāya Channel in the Mandya District are a few examples of not only public works and engineering skill but also of the touch of romance in each of them. The black, shining pillars of Jain temples (one or two even reflecting like first class mirrors of modern make), the vaults for prisoners, the selection of spots with reference to health, the construction of bridges without cement or mortar, etc. were some of the directions in which the creative genius of the Mysoreans was active. The examples are: the Jain Basti at Halebid, the prison where Dhond Waugh was kept in later days, Kabbaladrug and Savandrug typical of places for punishing prisoners with malaria and dysentery and the stone bridge across the Kāveri at Sivasamudram.

XI

Town-planning was very well understood and practised. The common pattern of a town was more or less as follows. Each town was divided into two parts, the fort and the bazaar. Next to the latter was the open but sheltered land for the weekly fair, a protected water reservoir for supplying drinking water, a tank with washing places for each community containing rain water for at least six months in a year, a cattle pound, etc. The fort would be the residential area proper for all citizens of the town. In the centre would be the temple with its high tower and round about the temple would be wide roads good enough for the passage of the temple car once a year in a festival and near the temple would be the tank for supplying water to the bathing of the image of God and a garden for supplying flowers for His worship. A few towns had been built on the banks of rivers or rivulets. Citizens lived in independent blocks called *agrahāras* but they joined together in the celebration of the annual car festival. Watch and ward were rigid and perfect,

and the doors would be closed at sunset and visitors were being interrogated minutely. Strangers could be detected quite easily even at sight. Wild hedge was grown all around the town to save it from wild animals, and a few towns had moats too. Food and dress varied, according to climate; those of the colder climate ate more pulses and dressed in silk and wool.

XII

Civic life was characterised, however, by community songs and festivals such as *harikathas* (musical types of religious discourses), *dasara*, local car festival and *dhātri havana*, by joint reception by all citizens of eminent scholars and saints, by feeding the pilgrims to Banaras and Rāmēs'waram as everybody's guests, giving assistance to travellers and merchants, etc. Hospitality was of a generous type and carried with it a high standard of etiquette. Women were treated with the utmost respect and consideration although their place was in their homes and with their kith and kin. Manu's conception of a woman was enforced strictly in practice; and married women were respected and spinsters were held in contempt. Widows were supposed to be 'unlucky' and hence looked upon as inauspicious, unfit for auspicious functions and even unseeable on high occasions; and this in its turn led to the abuse of that institution here and there. In most cases these unfortunate women proved themselves first-class heads of the family, the guardians of the young, the nurses of the sick and the teachers of orthodox discipline. In the Mysore kingdom, their dress was of red colour covering the body from the top of the head to the bottom of the ankles and did nor contain any jacket. Children were educated in schools which were usually located on the pials of local temples or in the local mosques (if they were Muslims) and conducted by just one or two teachers. The alphabet was taught by running the digital finger on the white sand, and arithmetic was taught at the first instance orally and then by working the sums on the same sand. A lot of things was crammed up as history, geography, ethics and culture, and punishment was sufficiently fearful. The education of adults was practically confined to the Brāhmaṇa and carried on in the home

of the most learned man or men in the place. There would be no instruction for the adults from the twelfth day to the following first day of every new- or full-moon and on all days of religious duties at home. Medical aid was universal; there was no town or village without its doctor or doctors. For the Hindus the *pandits* were doctors, and for the Muslims, *hakims* acted as physicians. Both these were ignorant of surgery which was unfortunately practised by barbers and therefore a matter of low status. Midwifery was an art but no science, and every family had an old woman to help in maternity cases. Naturally, every woman was considered to be born again if she survived the ordeal and the accompanying infection. One interesting feature of the practice of both *ayurvedic* and *unāni* medicine was the use of small pills, the manufacture of which was a family secret and the potency of which attracted kings to the physician's door.

XIII

Rural life was not very different from the urban life as generally described above. It was conspicuous by the sparsity of its population, its economic backwardness, its tendency to centre all social life round the temple of the local god or goddess, its habit of faction and friction and the predominance of the *gowda* over the rest of its inhabitants. The *panchāyat* functioned, as history would have it, but it quaked before a poligar or a dare-devil in the neighbourhood. Drink was a prevalent social evil, superstition was rank and literacy was unknown. Murders were common, especially amongst the lower castes, and revenge was a recognised and even respected institution. Sometimes villages took revenge upon other villages.

XIV

Astrologers were indispensable, and there were few towns or big villages without their own sooth-sayers. Not only religious functions, social practices and political actions were commenced at auspicious moments prescribed by astrologers, but also the detection of robbers, the recovery of stolen property, the treatment of the sick, the forecast of rain and the sacrifices for the propitiation or

appeasement of gods and spirits belonged to the sphere of astrology. In a few places, in the deep jungles of the Eastern and the Western Ghauts, poisons were administered by childless widows, jealous relations and ambitious men and women to innocent guests, with a view to winning the favour of the gods pointed out by astrologers. Sometimes, innocent children were sacrificed, at the instance of these dark-minded people, for the greater strength of irrigation channels and highway bridges or for the weakening of the fury of rivers in flood.

XV

The net result of all these factors in the cultural life of the people of the eighteenth century in this part of India was that the masses were dependent upon the classes like the sheep upon the shepherd for good or evil. The few who were chosen to guide the destinies of the many behind or below them were often irresponsible, reprehensible and pretentious than otherwise, with the result that it was dangerous to strike out a path of individuality for oneself and futile to expect any appreciation or popularity for discoveries and inventions. In normal times, the role of the few in a progressive society would be considered as the burden of the chosen; but in the dark ages of Eighteenth Century India, the part played by the leaders of social life deserves to be called the supremacy of the one-eyed over the utterly blind fellow men.

XVI

To sum up all the facts mentioned so far, one has to begin by reminding that the eighteenth century in Indian history was an age of feudalism, the keynote of which is 'Security at any cost'. Life, property and personal honour were being threatened on all sides, and self-preservation compelled men to erect walls around towns and villages and to raise barriers against unlimited social relations. It was rare for individuals to know anything which happened a hundred miles away or to travel very long distances to meet anybody, even to buy and sell in a good market. Timdity as stated already was written clearly on every countenance, and with it there was its next of kin, hypocrisy and prevarication. It is true that

the basic culture was Āryan or a product of intelligent thinking, but it is also correct to say that thinking and planning for welfare was on holiday. Peace, not prosperity, was the sole objective. Nevertheless, the nature of life and organisation was typically South-Indian and within this category, it was typically Karnātaka. The dominance of the caste system, the supremacy of crafts and guilds, the honour and status attached to government servants especially the tax collectors, the obsession of agriculture in economic life and the inevitability of collective security were common to all men and provinces in South India. But those of the Karnātaka (or the land between the Krishna and the Kāveri and between the Bay of Bengal and the Arabian Sea) were distinguished by the spirit of tolerance for diverse creeds and practices, the mildness of temperament under the gravest provocation, the love of the beautiful and the sweet-smelling, the display of hospitality and charity for the dear and the deserving, etc. To these should be added the contribution of Vijayanagara history. The use of fire-arms, cavalry and mercenaries was the first of a series in the list. The others are fortification of hill-rocks, hedging and moating of cities and towns, checking-up of entrants at the gates, construction of cells for prisoners, development of highways, etc. When the Europeans came to this part of India, they were struck with the remarkably well-developed organisation of life and government on one side and with the equally conspicuous lack of initiative, freedom and opportunities for a better life and system of administration. They found the people intelligent and capable but at the same time dorment, slothful and indolent. They noticed also general poverty, superstition and callousness in the masses. With a certain amount of apparent sympathy to these, they could mix with the people freely, but with a harmonious blending of fear with actual service they could overcome every opposition to their movements and schemes. All men were in their judgment strong, morally and intellectually but weak politically and materially. So, when Haidar Ali and Tipu Sultan came to rule this land, these Europeans found a real enemy to their schemes of political power and economic exploitation or colonial empire.

THE UMMATTUR CHIEFTAINCY

By Dr. M. Arokiaswami, M.A., Ph.D.

THE historians of Mysore, particularly Lewis Rice and Hayavadana Rao, have no doubt done something to bring to light this well-known chieftaincy of the Karnātaka region that ruled towards the close of the fifteenth century and well-nigh for a hundred years till the close of the following century, the region of southern Mysore as far as Coimbatore and its environs. Still much light needs to be thrown on the history of this house of rulers, who were in a very large sense the most important chieftaincy of this region at the dawn of the modern era. For one thing, the very origin of these great men of Mysore is still in doubt. Writing in one of the volumes of the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Rice throws out the suggestion that they are Gaṅga in origin ; and later on in the same work reviewing their titles the same writer opines that they were perphaps goldsmiths in origin. The very inconsistency of Rice is an indication of how little is as yet known about these chieftains. An attmept is, therefore, made in the following pages to dilineate at least a few of the well-known facts about these rulers, it is hoped, beyond the range of doubt.

Ummattūr is a small place lying in the southern border of modern Mysore abutting on the District of Coimbatore close to Talakad, the capital of the once famous Gaṅgas. The place is placed today within the confines of the Taluk of Chāmarājnagara in the State of Mysore. The chieftains of this place called in grand style as the Ummattūr Wodeyars seem to have been local celebrities thrown up in the post-Cōḷa period when the centre of control was removed to a distant place like Vijayanagara. The Kāveri running through their territory falls in majestic torrents at S'ivasamudram where an island is created. It was in this secluded region the first Ummattūr chief built his fort and could defy for sometime the Emperor of Vijayanagara.

1. Rice ; *EC.* IV. Intro. p. 27.

The views of Rice regarding their origin to which reference has been made earlier must be given up. Two inscriptions of these chiefs, one from Chāmarājanagara and another from Gundlupet, give them the titles, "the Lord of S'aurāṣṭrapurā" and "Cakrēs'vara of Penugonda" respectively, which obviously militate against their Gaṅga orgin.[2] There is, on the other hand, no plausible argument in support of the view that they were goldsmiths in origin. There seems to have been just as much connection between them and the Gaṅgas as there is between the present Ruling House of Mysore and Gaṅgas. It were better to say that the Ummattūr chieftain belonged to the Karnātaka house and grew to power when the central authority becanfe weak.

The following plausible genealogy of these chieftains is given by Rice, the same authority on Mysore history. This, though obviously imperfect and in some cases wrong, gives us at least an idea of this dynasty.

Hanumappa-Wodeyar
|
Sōma Rāya (Immadirāyā)
|
Depanna — Nanjarāya
Depanna: Immadi Depa — Chikka
Chikka: Nanjarāya
|
Rājappa
Nanjarāya (son of Sōma Rāya): Chinna Nanjarāya

With reference to their inscriptions the following chronology may be fixed for at least the more important of these rulers:

Depanna Wodeyar	(1478-1484)
Nanjarāya	(1482-1494)
Immadi Depanna	(1492)
Chinna Nanjarāya	(1497-1504)
Chikkarāya	(1505)
Nanjarāya	(1512-1540)
Rājappa	(1573)

2. *EC.* IV. Intro. p. 27.

It is also clear from the inscriptions that both the territory of Ummattūr and the adjoining chieftaincy of Terkaṇāmbi were ruled from the days of Kampana, the hero of Vijayanagara, by a governor who belonged to the royal house of Vijayanagara, Kampana exercising this authority between the years 1356 and 1376, Achanna between 1376 and 1404, Chikka Dēvappa between 1406 and 1422 and Vīra Parvatarāya between 1422 and 1924. Hayavadana Rao, author of the monumental *History of Mysore*, describes Nanjarāya and Depanna mentioned above as the sons of Somarāya, as "two of the sons of Mallikārjuna" the Vijayanagar ruler himself.[3] Whatever be the truth of this statement, it seems to be obvious that the period of the Ummattūr rulers gathered together here followed these Vijayanagara governors and most of them seem to have ruled also under the authority of Vijayanagara.

It is curious how these chieftains have influenced life during the period of their rule even as far as the region of Coimbatore which formed part of old Kongu. In fact a better and closer view of their rule can be gathered from their iscriptions scattered ove the Kongu region than even those found in the region of Mysore. So far as the former region is concerned inscriptions reveal only the rule of three chieftains — Vīra Nanjarāya, who figures in ten records dating between 1489 and 1499, another Nanjarāya described as the son of Pratāpa Harihararāya, whose four inscriptions are dated between the years 1507 and 1519 in the Avanāshi Taluk of the Coimbatore District and Vīra Chikkarāya, whose inscriptions found in the region surrounding Avanāshi are dated between the years 1507 and 1512. That Pratāpa Harihararāya was none other but Depanna (also called Thippanna) is to be seen from certain inscriptions of Nanjarāya which describe him as the son of Tippanna Udaiyar. It is clear from this that from 1489 onwards to 1520 A.D. there was a continuous rule over the Kongu region. Adopting the genealogy given by Rice and considering it in conjunction with the evidence of Kongu inscriptions referred to above the following tentative genealogy of the well-known Ummattūr rulers can be indicated :

3. Hayavadana Rao; *History of Mysore*, I, p. 13.

Soma Rāya

- Depanna
  - Immadi Depanna (1492-1512)
    - Vīra Nanjarāya II (1507-19)
  - Chikka (1508-12)
- Vīra Nanjarāya I (1482-99)

Such are the conclusions, genealogical and chronological, that are derived from the inscriptions found in the Coimbatore region concerning these rulers. This would mean that two princes of the family ruled sometimes at the same time over different parts of the chieftaincy, Nanjarāya I and Immadi Depanna (Pratāpa Harihara, as he is sometimes called) ruling together; while Chikkarāya and Nanjarāya II followed and ruled at the same time. It is in this way, we must conclude, the inscriptions of the three rulers Nanjarāya I, Vīra Chikkarāya and Nanjarāya II are found in the Kongu area in the dates mentioned therein.

The Kongu connection of the Ummattūr rulers thus serves to enlighten their history in no uncertain manner and it is to this that I wish to draw special attention here. This serves not only to clinch the genealogy and the chronology of these rulers but also pictures to us at least in some measure the kind of rule that they had given to the people under their charge and the nature of life led by these people during the time of their rule.

Of the ten inscriptions of Vīra Nanjarāya I found in the Coimbatore District at least three are found in the Avanāshi region, four in the Dhārāpuram area, one at Palani in the Madurai District and so on. Chikka's three inscriptions are again found in Avanāshi and Kunnatūr while one is found in Kuntūr in Kollegal Taluk. Nanjarāya II (also called Nanjannā) is mentioned in the records distributed over distant places like Nambiyūr, Pattānam and Kattangani in Dhārāpuram area. [4] These must give a rough idea

4. 198, 199, 200 of 1909; *Ins. of S. Dts. No. 6*; 23 of 1910, 202 and 210 of 1909; 278 of 1920 etc.

of the sphere of their influence in Kongunādu and obviously the modern District of Coimbatore seems fo have felt their influence most.

In one of the Dhārāpuram inscriptions above mentioned Nanjarāya I is said to have rebuilt the Perumāl temple at Koduvāy, which had suffered damage at the hands of the Muhammadans, consecrated it afresh, re-engraved on its walls the obliterated inscriptions of the Cēra and Cōḷā Kings who accorded temple endowments and announced his own gift of two villages for daily worship and repairs of the temple.[5] In another record of the same king, it is said that a charity was instituted by the people of Koduvāy of giving a sumptuous meal with *kampu* to Brāhmaṇas who passed that way.[6] It is right to presume, as the epigraphist who has recorded this inscription thinks, that Koduvāy was possibly an important centre lying in the artery of traffic in those days. The same is curiously borne out by the name of the region in which this place lay, *Valipukkānādu* (the region of entrance), mentioned in the same epigraph.

The Avanāshi record of Chikka mentions a gift by a merchant, the Kunnattūr record of the same time, the gift of a tank, and his Kuntūr record, gift of taxes for providing food and clothing to fifty Uadiyārs of the S'ivācāra sect of S'ānta Dēvara Siṁhāsana in Hadinādu. Of the inscriptions of Nanjarāya II the one in Pattānam refers to six merchants having rebuilt the village and re-namimg it as S'rināthapattana.

The conjoint impression left on our minds by these various records of the Ummattūr chieftains is to the effect that the persons in whose reigns these are dated were on all hands benign rulers, who had kept the interest of their subjects in the forefront. That they re-peopled depopulated villages, rebuilt defiled and ruined temples, provided for the comfort of religious men and mendicants, and saw to the growth of trade are all obvious even from these few estaments they have left to posterity; while the big irrigation tank still in use and called as *Nanjarāyankulam* near Periyapālayam in the Coimbatore District gives us an unmistakable

5. 108 of 1920.
6. 109 of 1920.

inkling that they also took care of agriculture, then as now the backbone of the village economy. The inscription of Nanjarāya I found to this day in the ruined temple of the place gives one the indication that it was perhaps the same Nanjarāya who was responsible for the construction of this tank.

The Kattangani record dated in the reign of Nanjarāya II, *Bahudaniya Arpasi*[7] equated by the epigraphist with A. D. 1517-19, mentions the rule of Nayinar Rahutaperumal, son of Tribhuvanattu Rajākkal Tambirānār Parākrama Pāṇḍyadēva ; his gift of certain taxes to the temple is mentioned and Vikramapāṇḍya Brahmarāya is mentioned as signatory.[7] The use of the sonorous titles calling back to our mind the period of the Pāṇḍyas makes it difficult to understand this record aright. The obvious explanation seems to be to call him a feudatory of the Ummattūr chieftain, who was possibly related to the Pāṇḍyas then still ruling from Tenkāsi. It is thus to be surmised that the chieftains of Ummattūr had under them smaller chieftains ruling on their own authority and under the control of the Ummattūr chieftains. A better explanation would, however, lie in the fact that at the time referred to by this record the sway of Vijayanagara was in full swing all over South India, the greatest monarch of Vijayanagara, Krishnadēvarāya, having come to the throne as early as 1509. All writers on South Indian history are agreed on the fact that one of the very first things which he did on his accession was to invade the region of the Ummattūr chieftaincy, bring to terms the refractory chieftain of Seringapatām after capturing his fort of S'ivasamudram. He then allowed, according to Domingo Paes, 'Cumarviryā' to be the king of Seringapatām and all the territory bordering on Malabār,[8] which would include Kongu as well. These events are dated between 1510 and 1512 ; Chikka's inscriptions cease from 1512 and that of Vīra Nanjarāya II from 1519. The obvious conclusion is that Chikka was the 'Gaṅgarāja' defeated by Krishnadēvarāya: Vīra Nanjarāya is the 'Cumarviryā' of Paes and the 'Rāhutta' of the Kattangani inscription was a Vijayanagara Viceroy directly appointed from

7. 278 of 1920.
8. Sewell ; *Forgotten Empire* ; p. 269.

the centre. Hence the inscription though dated in the reign of Vīra Nanjarāya II records, "during the regime of Rāhuttaperumal," and the sonorous titles follow. The year of this important record, 1519 A.D. must be taken to mark the end of the Ummattūr chieftaincy and convincingly enough inscriptions of Vīra Nanjarāya II go up only to this year, 1519.

PUNNATA SANGHA

By V. P. Joharapurakar, B.A.

Punnata Sangha is a well-known sect of Jaina ascetics. It derives its name from Punnāṭa, *i.e.* the Karnāṭaka Province, where it originated. So far only two pontiffs of this sect are known to history. Among these, first is Jinasēna, author of (Jain) *Harivaṁṣa Purāṇa*, and the other is Harisēna, author of *Bṛhat Kathākōs'a*.

Jinasēna completed his work in *S'aka* 705. At that time, as he records, Indrāyudha was ruling in the north, S'rīvallabha in the south, Vatsarāja of Avanti in the east and Jayavarāha of Saura Maṇḍala in the west. The first part of the work was composed in Vardhamānapura which is identified with Vaḍhavāṇa in Saurāṣṭra.

Jinasēna has given a long list of his predecessors starting right from Lord Mahāvīra. The names of the pontiffs upto 683 years after the *Nirvāṇa* of Mahāvīra, mentioned in this list, are common with those found in other works. After that he records the names of thirty-one pontiffs in addition, last of these being his direct teacher Kīrtisēna. This gives an average of twenty years for a pontiff which is quite possible.

Harisēna, the second known author of this sect, completed his work in *S'aka* 854 at the same Vardhamānapura when Vināyakapāla was ruling there. Harisēna mentions three predecessors of his lineage — Mauni Bhaṭṭāraka, Harisēna I and Bharatasēna. Thus it appears that some two or three names after Jinasēna would make the list complete upto Harisēna.

Recently we have come across two manuscripts which throw some light on the later development of this sect. First of these is a collection of hymns. It is written by Pandit Hajī. He was a pupil of Bhaṭṭāraka Rājakīrti who flourished in the middle of the Seventeenth Century A.D. This manuscript contains a *paṭṭavali* of Lāḍabāgada *Gaccha*. After giving various myths about numerous pontiffs of this *Gaccha* it describes Citrasēna, the twenty-third

1. *e.g. Saṭkhanḍāgamaṭīkā*, I. p. 66; *Mahāpurāṇa*, Ch. 11. *vs. 137* 150, etc.

pontiff thus—श्री चित्रसेनदेवानां । यैः लाटवर्गटदेशे प्रतिबोधं विधाय मिथात्वमलनिरसनं चक्रे। ततः पुन्नाटगच्छ इति भाण्डागारं स्थितं। लाटवर्गटनामाभिधान लोके पृथिव्यां प्रथितं प्रकटीबभूव। *i.e.* Citrasēna removed the false views current in Lāṭavargaṭa (identical with Lāḍabāgaḍa, *i.e.* South Gujarat) province. From that time the name of the *Gaccha* was changed from Punnāṭa to Lāḍabāgaḍa. We may note that *Saṁgha*, though a wider term, is many times used as a synonym of *gaṇa* and *gaccha*.

This view of the *paṭṭāvali* seems to be correct. We may recollect that two earlier pontiffs mentioned above were inhabitants of the same province. The change of name seems to have occurred in the century following Harisēna. The later name was current in the eleventh century. Jayasēna, author of *Dharmaratnākara*, mentions it in *Vikrama Saṃvat* 1055.[2] Mahāsēna, author of *Pradyumna Carita* mentions it in the time of Sindhula, the king of Dhārā. Vijayakīrti mentions five of his predecessors of this *gaccha* in *Vikrama Saṃvat* 1145.[3]

The older name, however, seems to have lingered in future also. The second manuscript found by us supports this view. It contains a poem *Bhārata Bhujabali Carita* in 219 verses. It is composed by one Pāmo in *S'aka* 1614 at Karanja (Akola District, Madhya Pradesh). He mentions Bhaṭṭāraka Pratāpakīrti and Bhuvanakīrti of the Punnāṭa *Gaccha* as his teachers. Now these two are known to be the pontiffs of the Lāḍabāgaḍa *Gaccha* according to the *paṭṭāvali*. This is further supported by numerous inscriptions on the pedestals of Jain images found at Karanja. This shows that the two *gacchas* were identical.

A detailed account of the Lāḍabāgaḍa *Gaccha* from the Fourteenth Century onwards is given in an article *Kāṣthā Saṁgha* (Sanmāti, Bahubali District Kolhapur, July 1955). It is clear from the above *paṭṭāvali* and poem that the Punnāṭa *Gaccha* was considered to be a subdivision of *Kāṣthā Saṁgha* in later times.

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2. *Anekānta*. VIII. p. 200.
3. *E. I.* Vol. II. p. 237.

THE BANGARS

By S. Silva

Among the Jain families that held sway over some tracts of South Canara (Tuḷuva), the Bangārs are the most magnificent. They have shed a great lustre on the culture of Tuḷuva.

The origin of this noble and heroic family is still shrouded in mystery and no attempt has been made to solve it satisfactorily. But their history can be fairly linked together from the year 1157 A.D. (*S'aka* 1079).

Vira Narasimha Banga Raja
(Vira Narasimha—1157-1208 A.D.)

Candras'ēkhara, a royal prince of the Gaṅgas, was ruling a small tract in the Gaṅga dominions. At this time Viṣṇuvardhana, a Hoysala king waged war against him and defeated him. Then the royal prince, his family and his cabinet members fled to the jungles and remained hidden there. After the death of Viṣṇuvardhana, they came to Bangadi. One day, when the Hoysala king came to Bangadi, he was pleased to see the child of Candras'ēkhara and gifted to him a large territory. He considered him as his own son and called him Vīra Narasimha Banga Rāja and enthroned him on *Bahudhānya Samvastara Phālguṇa Bahuḷa 10* of *S'aka* 1079.[1] (The tenth day of the dark half of the month of *Phālguṇa* in the year *Bahudhānya*). His palace was built in South Bangadi on the bank of the river Nētrāvati. Ever since then these kings add to their names the title of Vīra Narasimha. He married five wives. He died in 1208 A.D. (*S'aka* 1130).

Candrasekhara Banga Raja (1208-1224 A.D.)

He was the son of Vīra Narasimha. Crowned in *S'aka* 1130, *S'ukla Samvatsara Vais'ākha Suddha 5* (The fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Vais'ākha* in the year *Sukla*). During his reign seven Chinese ships carrying merchandise got shipwrecked in Mangalore. He had no sons.

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1. There is a long history about this.

PANDYAPPA BANGA RAJA (1224-1239 A.D.)

He was the brother of Candras'ēkhara Banga Rāja and was known as S'ānta Rāja. Assumed the name of Pāṇḍyappa and ascended the *gādi* on *S'aka* 1147, *Pārthiva Samvatsara Māgha S'uddha 5* (The fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Māgha* in the year *Pārthiva*).

VITTAL DEVI (1239-1264 A.D.)

She was the sister of Pāṇḍyappa Banga Rāja and was crowned on *S'aka* 1162, *Shārvari Samvatsara Phālguṇa S'uddha 10* (The tenth day of the bright half of the month of *Phālguṇa* in the year *Shārvari*).

KAMA RAJA I (1264-1274 A.D.)

He was the son of Vittal Devi. Crowned on *S'aka* 1166, *Krōdhi Samvatsara Caitra S'uddha 7* (The seventh day of the bright half of the month of *Caitra* in the year *Krōdhi*).

PADUMALA DEVI (1274-1287 A.D.)

She was the daughter-in-law of Kāmarāja. Crowned on *S'aka* 1196, *Bhāva Samvatsara Kārtīka S'uddha 13* (The thirteenth day of the bright half of the month of *Kārtīka* in the year *Bhāva*). She died in *S'aka* 1209.

HAVALI BANGA RAJA I (1287-1323 A.D.)

He was the son of Padumala Dēvi. Crowned on *S'aka* 1209, *Sarvajit Samvatsara S'rāvaṇa Bahuḷa 7* (The seventh day in the dark half of the month of *S'rāvaṇa* in the year *Sarvajit*). He died in *S'aka* 1245.

SAMKARA DEVI I (1324-1349 A.D.)

She was the sister of Havali Banga Rāja. Crowned on *S'aka* 1246, *Raktākṣi Samvatsara Vais'ākha Bahuḷa 5*. (The fifth day of the dark half of the month of *Vais'ākha* in the year *Raktākṣi*). At this time, the Alupa King Soyi Dēva was the Maṇḍalēs'vara at Mangalore. As he had no children, he gifted the seven *Sīmes* which he was ruling to S'aṁkara Dēvi in *S'aka* 1247 and bestowed on her the title of *Vadeya*.

During her reign, the Hoysala kingdom was in bad circumstances. Taking advantage of this, S'aṁkara Dēvi assumed independence.

HAVALI BANGA RAJA II (1349-1400 A.D.)

He was the son of S'aṁkara Dēvi. Crowned on *S'aka* 1271, *Virōdi Samvatsāra Caitra Bahuḷa 1* (The first day of the dark half of the month of *Caitra* in the year *Virōdhi*).

LAKSMAPPARASA BANGA RAJA I (1400-1455 A.D.)

He was the brother of Havali Banga Rāja II. Crowned on *S'aka* 1322, *Vikrama Samvatsara Māgha S'uddha 10* (The tenth day of the bright half of the month of *Māgha* in the year *Vikrama*). He assumed the name of Lakṣmapparasa. Popularly he was known as Mammanna Banga.

SAMKARA DEVI II (1455-1491 A.D.)

She was the sister of Lakṣmapparasa. Crowned on *S'aka* 1377, *Yuva Samvatsara Puṣya S'ukla 7* (The seventh day of the bright half of the month of *Puṣya* in the year *Yuva*).

KAMA RAJA II (1491-1533 A.D.)

He was the son of S'aṁkara Devi II. Crowned on *S'aka* 1413, *Virodhikṛtu Samvatsara Āsvīja Bahuḷa 13* (The thirteenth day of the dark half of the month of *Āsvīja* in the year *Virodhikṛtu*). The Portuguese complications crept in during this period.

HAVALI BANGA RAJA III (1533-1545 A.D.)

He was the brother of Kāmā Rāja. Crowned on *S'aka* 1455, *Vijaya Samvatsara Kārtīka Bahuḷa 10* (The tenth day of the dark half of the month of *Kārtīka* in the year *Vijaya*). He was crowned at Nandāvar.

LAKSMAPPARASA BANGA RAJA II (1545-1556 A.D.)

He was the son-in-law (?) of Havali Banga Rāja III. Crowned on *S'aka* 1467, *Vis'vāvasu Samvatsara Vais'ākha Bahuḷa 1* (The first day of the dark half of the month of *Vais'ākha* in the year *Vis'vāvasu*.) He died in battle in 1556.

KAMA RAJA III (1556-1612 A.D.)

He was the son-in-law (?) of Lakṣmapparasa Banga Rāja II. Crowned on *S'aka* 1578, *Naḷa Samvatsara Phālguṇa S'uddha 5* (The fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Phālguṇa* in the year *Naḷa*). There were complications of Portuguese and Venkatappa Naika. Defeated in a war, he fled to Kērala.

LAKSMAPPA BANGA RAJA III (1612-1629 A.D.)

He was the son-in-law (?) of Kāma Raja. Crowned on *S'aka* 1534, *Paridhāvi Samvatsāra Āsvīja Bahuḷa 12* (The twelfth day of the dark half of the month of *Āsvīja* in the year *Paridhāvi*). There were complications with Ikkeri. At last S'ivappa Naik, adviser to Vīra Bhadrappa of Ikkeri demanded a tribute of 3,500 *varāhas* from the Bangār king.

HAVALI BANGA RAJA VODEYA IV (1628-1631 A.D.)

He was the son-in-law (nephew ?)[2] of Lakṣman Banga Rāja. Crowned on *S'aka* 1550, *Vibhava Samvatsara Māgha Bahuḷa 7* (The seventh day of the dark half of the month of *Māgha* in the year *Vibhava*).

SAMKARA DEVI III (1631-1653 A.D.)

She was the Sister of Havali Banga Rāja IV. Crowned on *S'aka* 1553, *Prajotpatti Samvatsaṛa, Jeṣṭa S'uddha 10* (The tenth day of the bright half of the month of *Caitra* in the year *Prajotpatti*).

HAVALI BANGA RAJA V (1653-1699 A.D.)

He was the son of S'aṁkara Devi III. Crowned on *S'aka* 1575, *Vijaya Samvatsara Caitra S'uddha 10* (The tenth day of the bright half of the month of *Caitra* in the year *Vijaya*).

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2. I cannot make sure whether *aḷiya* means son-in-law or sister's son. In Kannaḍa the word *āḷiya* is used, for both the nephew (sister's son) and also the son-in-law. As it was an *aḷiya santāna kattu*. *Aḷiya* may mean sister's son also. This is more probable. So whenever I have used son-in-law the readers may take it to mean sister's son also.

LAKSMAPPARASA BANGA RAJA IV (1699-1767 A.D.)

He was the son-in-law (nephew ?) of Havali Banga Rāja IV. Crowned on *S'aka* 1621 *Pramādi Samvatsara, Vais'ākha S'uddha 6* (The fifth day of the bright half of the month of *Vais'ākha* in the year *Pramādi*). In 1763, Kanara came under Haidar Ali. The Bangār Chiefs met him and promised tribute.

KAMAPPARASA BANGA RAJA IV (1767-1799 A.D.)

He was the nephew (?) of Lakṣmapparasa Banga Rāja IV. Crowned on *S'aka* 1699, *Sarvajit Samvatsara Ās'āda S'uddha 10* (The tenth day of the bright half of the month of *Ās'āda* in the year *Sarvajit*). He was beheaded treacherously by the Muslim Khilledar of Jamālābad.

LAKSMAPPARASA BANGA RAJA V (1800-1888 A.D.)

With the consent of Reade, Collector of Kanara, he was crowned on *S'aka* 1722, *Raudri Samvatsara Mārgaṣira S'uddha 10* at Nandāvar (The tenth day of the bright half of the month of *Mārgaṣira* in the year *Raudri*). In 1838, he was made a prisoner by the English.

After him, three more were crowned, *viz.* Kāma Rāja V, S'ānta Rāja and Padma Rāja.

The kingdom collapsed from 1767. Even then, these chieftains continued holding the crowning ceremony according to the custom.

The successor of Padma Rāja is not known. He was ruling till 1923.

HISTORY OF THE ORGANISATION AND GROWTH OF DEPARTMENTS OF THE GOVERNMENT OF MYSORE AND ITS ARCHIVES

By P.B. Ramachandra Rao, B.A. (Hons.)

Characteristic Features of Records

In any administration, private or government, the business is conducted through departments. These departments carry on correspondence with different agencies, and this elaborate detail results in the creation of what are known as Records or Archives. Records thus have a relationship with the departments and they are inseparable. The records therefore form, as it were, precedents or safest guides for all future business. The records pave the way for uniform and equitable administration. Herein lies the unique value of the records. Therefore the records are, for any organisation, the tools of administration.

The history of a country is written by authors on authority based on manuscripts or other records built by individuals, bodies or government in their day-to-day administration. The records so built were preserved by them; preserved not because they should become useful over again, but because of their intrinsic value. With no end and desire they are preserved, and preserved as heritage. Thus records built up by individuals, bodies, families, rulers or nations are our heritage and they are national assets.

The Records Office of the Government of Mysore is the largest repository of records in the State. Since 1867 the records of the Government have come to be preserved in the *Aṭṭāra Cutcherry*. This archive has its own history and growth and its study throws much light on the administrative aspects of the State from time to time.

Manuscript writings are of several kinds. Till three centuries ago, the manuscripts were of two kinds in Mysore, that of *ole* and *kaḍata*, and latterly paper. The former is the leaf of the *tāḷa vṛkṣa* or the palmyra on which was written by an iron style. It is almost an inscription in miniature. The latter, *kaḍata*, is a piece

of cloth dressed with a composition of charcoal and gum. It presents a black surface like slate on which is written with a piece of pot stone (*balapam*). The *kaḍata* is of one piece, folded in and out, and is from 8 inches to 12 inches wide and 12 inches to 18 feet long. A piece of wood to the size of the book is stitched at either end as a binder, and the entire *kaḍata* is put into a case of silk or cotton, or merely tied up with a bit of string. The writing can be rubbed out and renewed at will. Though liable to be expunged, it is perhaps a more durable record and material than the best writing on the best paper. The records in the State Archives are of paper only, though palm leaf manuscripts exist all over the State.

UTILITY OF THE RECORD

How do we know that there were four Mysore wars; that in the reign of Krishnarāja Wadiyar III for a period of fifty years, the administration was taken by the Governor-General of India and ruled by the British Commissioners appointed by him; that the adoption of the child by His Highness was not accepted and that the British Government were obliged finally to accept the succession to the throne of Mysore; that there was a Resident in Mysore and that the Residency was abolished for a time and again revived in Bangalore; that from 1856-57 began the publication of an Annual Administration Report; that the Horticultural Society was established in Bangalore in 1830; that the year 1862-63 specially marked a gradual reorganisation and an extension of the agency for conducting the administration, that there were changes in the personnel of the Commission and the establishment; that the cost of the establishment of the Postal Department was Rs. 33,000; that the average annual receipt and expenditure during 1852-53 to 1861-62 were Rs. 86,54,000 and Rs. 79,92,000 respectively; that the Bangalore Central Jail was constructed in 1863 and that there were 1689 convicts in jail in 1881; that the publication of the Annual Administration Reports was discontinued in March 1881 but two quinquennial reports were published bringing down the information to 1881; that an Agricultural and Industrial Exhibition which was well attended was held at Mysore in October 1886; and that the

Mysore State participated in the International Exhibition, held at London; that the designation of the Deputy Accountant General was changed to that of the Comptroller in 1882; that the Head-master of the Mahārāja's College in 1895 was a Parsi gentleman; all these and a host of others we come to know only from the records preserved by our predecessors. Had they not done so, we would not be knowing these events and our own history.

State Organisation, Administration and Development

The State of Mysore has a glorious history from ancient times. In spite of its being drawn into severe battles with neighbouring chiefs and invaders, heavy onsalughts and court intrigues, etc. the State has established a sound administration and an organisation equal to the best administration in India or abroad.

For several centuries the small principality of Mysore was being ruled by Hindu sovereigns. This principality developed itself into a very big province through historical conquests by rulers. From 1761 to 1799, however, though the rulers of Mysore were Hindus, the State was practically ruled by two Muslims, Haidar and Tipu, and with the fall of Seringapatam in 1799, the State passed into the hands of the British when they vanquished Tipu. With their usual diplomacy and to maintain a balance of power in the south they placed the Hindu sovereign on the throne with safeguards for them under perpetual treaties or guarantees. Thereafter the State is being ruled by Hindu rulers. The records concerning the State till 1799 cannot be located and traced. A number of books have been written depicting the history of Mysore till 1799 based on biographies, records and inscriptions and other materials discovered elsewhere. From 1800 the administration of Mysore came to a settlement and the records created from that year are forthcoming in Mysore and out of the State, but not completely at any one place as a historian or an archivist would desire.

About 1761, Chikka Dēvarāja had distributed the business of his government in eighteen offices (*Aṭṭāra cutcherries*) or departments, probably after having learnt from his ambassadors to Aurangazeb that such an organisation existed at the Imperial

Court at Delhi. Prior to 1761, the year of usurpation by Haider, what departments were in existence in Mysore is not very clear. As Dodwell has observed, Tipu was the first sovereign to seek to apply Western methods to his own administration. There were seven departments, each having a Board of Members with the chief termed its President.

Mir Asaf Cutcherry: dealing with Revenue and Finance Departments (Central Board of Revenue). President Mir Sadiq.

Mir Miran Cutcherry: dealing with Military. President Purnjah.

Mir Miran Cutcherry: Zaman Department. President, Muhammad Raza.

Mir Sadar Cutcherry: Ordinance and Garrison Departments. President, Gulam Ali Khan.

Malik-ul-Tujar Cutcherry: Commerce Department. President, Ahmed Khan.

Mir Yan Cutcherry: Marine Department. President, Hafiz Muhammad.

Mir Khazim Cutcherry: Treasury and Mint Departments. President, Sayid Amin.

Under Purniah (1800 to 1812), the Civil Government was divided into three departments: (i) Treasury and Finance, (ii) Revenue and (iii) Miscellaneous. The Military and the *Kandācāra* had their respective departments and the Dewan presided over every department. At a later period, in 1805, Purniah is said to have represented the necessity of establishing a separate department of Justice at Mysore, and a Court of Adawlat (High Court) was constituted.

At the time of the British assumption in 1831 and in the days of Krishnarāja Wadiyar III, Mysore consisted of six *fauzdaris*, subdivided into 101 taluks:

Bangalore and Madgiri	...	27
Chitaldrug	...	13
Aṣṭagrāma	...	25
Manjarabad	...	11
Nagar	...	25

In 1856, the post of a Judicial Commissioner to relieve the Commissioner of a branch of work which had grown extensively was created. In addition, the Department of Public Works and the Department of Education came into existence. It became apparent that this large territory with a revenue of one crore of rupees could not be efficiently administered with the same agency as that which was instituted when the revenue was not much more than one half, and hence the year 1862-3 was specially marked by gradual reorganisation and an extension of the agency for conducting the administration.

The former establishment of the Commissionership of Mysore consisted of the Commissioner and his staff at the Headquarters; four superintendents for the four divisions of the territory and the Court of Huzur Adawlat. It was reorganised by dividing the Territory into three divisions, subdivided into Eight Districts and eighty-five taluks :

Division		*Districts*		*Taluks*
Nandidroog	...	Bangalore	...	13
		Kolar	...	11
		Tumkur	...	9
Aṣṭagrāma	...	Mysore	...	13
		Hassan	...	11
Nagar	...	Shimoga	...	10
		Kadur	...	8
		Chitaldrug	...	10

A Department of Audit and Accounts was newly instituted and in 1863 came into existence the Department of Revenue Survey and Settlement and the Forest; in 1868 the Inam Commissioner and in the next year the Muzrai.

After Rendition, in pursuance of measures of retrenchment effected in the year 1862, the eight districts were reduced to six districts with sixty taluks. Various departments were at first directly controlled by the Dewan, but as the finances improved, and the work of the departments expanded, several Heads of Departments were appointed, such as Forest and Police in 1885, Excise in 1889. In 1885 the Police Department was placed in charge of the Inspector-General of Police, it being removed from the control of the Police

Secretary. So also the Military Department was removed from the Military Secretary. In 1882 the designation of the Deputy Accountant General was changed to that of Comptroller.

From 1882 on account of changes effected in the mode of disposal, the business administration in Government was split up into departments, such as Finance, Education, Protection, Law, etc. with the Dewan at the top, and the records formed by these were department-wise. The system of government is mainly based on the British Indian system of administration as introduced into the State during the days of the British Commission and the system continues even now. As Ruler of the State, His Highness the Mahārāja was the ultimate authority in all matters; and the administration was conducted under his control by the Dewan who was the Chief Executive Officer of the State with two Councillors, who in their respective departments passed final orders in the name of Government in all ordinary matters. The Dewan and the Councillors collectively formed the Council of His Highness the Mahārāja to advise His Highness on all the more important matters affecting the administration.

The subordinate offices of the administration were controlled by separate Heads of Departments. The State for purposes of better administration was redistributed into eight districts, sixty-nine taluks and nine sub-taluks; each district being under a Deputy Commissioner, each taluk being under an Amildar and each sub-taluk under a Deputy Amildar, with judicial powers. At present the State has ten districts including the Civil and Military Station of Bangalore and the ceded area of the Bellary District.

From year 1903-4 further changes being effected, the disposals came to be based in accordance with the provisions of the Business Rules of Government and the Manual of Office Procedure of the Secretariat. The records of this period go by the name of Files or Collections which consist of a bunch of papers, received and sent out. The Files are formed according to Subject Headings for purposes of easy reference. Thus from a single leaf (reference) of a receipt and an issue disposal, the maintenance of records is improved to a group disposal of receipts and issues combined, which together gives the history of a case completely from start to

finish. This is a unique system, easy to trace any precedent for disposal of any case on hand. The business administration of the Secretariat is also outstanding in this that any reference could be traced as to where it is at any time by reference to the Movement Control Register. Just as the movement of a railway train on its march could be spotted out at any particular time, the file could be picked up from any place at any time.

On the attainment of Independence the traditional post of Dewan was abolished and a Council of Ministers elected by the people came into being with the Chief Minister at its head. Since integration of the State with the Government of India the Executive power of the State is vested in the Rājpramukh (His Highness the Mahārāja) and is exercised by him, either directly or through officers subordinate to him, in accordance with the Constitution of India. There is now a Council of Ministers with the Chief Minister at the head to aid and advise the Rājpramukh in the exercise of his functions. The Business of the Government is now transacted in the following Departments of the Secretariat known familiarly as Branches.

(1) Chief Secretariat, (2) Home, (3) Revenue, (4) Finance, (5) Development, (6) Education, (7) Public Works and Electricity, (8) Law, (9) Legislation, (10) Food and Civil Supplies, (11) Forest and Agriculture, (12) Medical and Public Health, (13) Local Self-Government, and (14) Labour.

The Business is classified and distributed among the Departments of the Secretariat in the manner specified in the Business Rules of Government. Each Department consists of several recognised Branches and each Branch consists of one or more sections. The organisation of the Secretariat is thus quite simple but grand. No other Secretariat in India, excepting the Secretariat of the Government of India, has this method; and all records whether in movement or closed have the best characteristic features, which is not achieved in any subordinate department under Government.

ARCHIVES AND ARRANGEMENT

From the above narrative on Government, Organisation and

growth of various Administrative Departments of the Secretariat from 1800, it may be mentioned that records have come to stay at different levels. Records created at Government level are preserved in the Secretariat and all those of the Heads of Departments and District Officers are preserved in their respective offices in separate Records Sections. Prior to 1831, the administration of the Territories of the Mahārāja was conducted from Mysore and hence records connected upto that period have found their place at Mysore (Capital) and when the administration was taken over by the British Commissioners and the Government was shifted to Bangalore, though he Mahāraja resided at his Capital, the records subsequent to 1831 have come to find their home in Bangalore. The *Aṭṭāra Cutcherry* which houses the Government of Mysore with its several departments came to exist in Bangalore, built between 1864 and 1868 at a cost of Rs. 4,27,000 including the site, and it preserves the records created from about 1831 to modern times. The State Administration Reports from 1856-7 and the Gazettes of Mysore, Bombay and the Government of India form part of the wealth of the State Records. As the administration of the State from 1831 to 1881 was in initial stages controlled by both Governments of Madras and Bengal, the Gazettes of Madras and the Government of India came to this archives. As the then Mysore Government had compiled the laws relating to revenue and civil matters from the Government of Bombay, the Gazettes of Bombay also came to be deposited in the archives. The State Records is a honey-comb in which rest the assets of government.

It is noteworthy that records prior to 1799 were either in Marāṭhi or Persian or in both. There was a special staff qualified in Persian and Marāṭhi to translate into English and to re-translate the orders passed in English into the required language for communication. So the records of a particular case will be both in Persian or Marāṭhi and English. Had not our predecessors, the creators and the successors, preserved the records so diligently, how should we have known their greatness, their conquests, their humanity ; how could we have written the history of the period ? They

preserved them not for their own sake, but for the country and the people, without the least attachment and selfishness.

National Archives in Vidhana Soudha

This huge national archive in the *Aṭṭara Cutcherry* is shortly to be removed to Vidhāna Soudha, the Architectural Jewel of Mysore, where large records halls are built on modern lines to house these State assets. When this is done and all the records are re-arranged on archival lines, with the co-operation of the National Archives of India, this repository should be one of the best, if not the best of the archives in India.

THE EARLY WODEYARS OF MYSORE THEIR CULTURAL TRADITIONS

BY D.S. ACHUTA RAO, M.A.

THE period following the battle of Raksa Tangadi in 1565 witnessed the emergence in various parts of South India several petty independent states under enterprising chieftains who were erstwhile the vassals of the Vijayanagara Empire. Among them Mysore was the most important. She rose to prominence in that part of country which was once ruled by the Gaṅgas and the Hoysalas. Eventually she succeeded in uniting the greater part of Karnāṭaka under her supremacy. The dynasty of the Wodeyars which has presided over the destinies of Mysore for over five centuries may be regarded as the true heirs and successors to the rich traditions in politics and culture bequeathed by their great predecessors the Kadambas, the Gaṅgas, the Cāḷukyas, the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara rulers. The dynasty of the Wodeyars produced some of its outstanding rulers in Rāja Wodeyars, Cāmarāja, Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja I, Dēva Rāja and Cikka Dēvarāja who helped to preserve and foster to a great degree all that was great and noble in Hindu culture which had found its efflorescence under the Vijayanagara rule.

For three centuries the Vijayanagara Empire had stood forth as a formidable bulwark against the inroads of Islam and saved South India from the catastrophe which had overtaken the North. We cannot forget for a moment that the empire rose to serve a great historic purpose, the protection of Hindu religion and culture. She succeeded in great measure in this noble endeavour. But after 1565, the sinking and fugitive empire torn by factions and jealousies could no longer devote her energies to this purpose. India then was fortunate in providing a S'ivāji who succeeded to this vacant position. The part played by the little rising kingdom of Mysore, the loyal feudatory of the Vijayanagara empire, in defence of the empire and its proclaimed ideal of *dharma* and culture have received little or no attention at the hands of historians.

Towards the close of the Sixteenth Century the empire of Vijayanagara was waging a desperate stuggle for existence against

the aggressive wars of the Sultans of Bijapur and Golconda who had advanced far within the empire after entering into mutual compact in regard to their respective spheres of influence. It was agreed among them that Bijāpur was to appropriate as much of the Carnātic above the ghauts as she could and that Golconda was to have a free hand in the empire below the ghauts. The brunt of Golconda's aggression fell upon the empire proper at Penukonda and subsequently at Candragiri and lastly at Vellore. The supreme need of the hour was for the various southern feudatories to make common cause with the imperial power and oppose the enemy. Of all the vassals, Mysore alone maintained her unswerving loyalty to the empire and fought to preserve her safety against continued Muslim aggression. Taking advantage of the weakness of the empire the Nāyaks of Madura cherished ideas of independence, turned disloyal to the empire and failed to render her assistance in the dark hour of peril. Most ignominious of all, they invited the Shāhi Sultans to prevent the emperor from marching against their territory.[1] The major part of defending the empire against Bijāpur invasion fell upon Mysore and to a certain extent upon Ikkeri. In withstanding the attack of Bijāpur forces and keeping them within bounds, Mysore rendered a great service to the empire. These services became greater as Mysore under Beṭṭada Cāmāraja extended her borders so as to include the territories of the Cannapatna viceroyalty which comprised of considerable portions of eastern Mysore and Bārāmahal. Bijāpur had absorbed into her territory the Districts of Citaldrug, Tumkur, Kolar and portions of the Bangalore District. Mysore then stood face to face with the invader and prevented his further expansion. Elsewhere Golconda was overpowering the empire. The duty of the southern vassals like Madura, Tanjore and Gingi was

1, J. Bertrand; *La Mission Du Madura* and S. Sathianatha Iyer: *The Nāyaks of Madura*, Appendix. p. 263.

Bertrand writes: "Nāyaks of Madura enlisted in the defection those of Tanjore and Gingi by concluding with them a league against their own common sovereign. Tirumala Nayak secretly addressed the *subah* of Golconda and requested it to invade the kingdom of Vellore."

Also see, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar's observations, Introduction to the above work, p. 22.

to have co-operated with and acted in the spirit of Mysore and this could have probably saved to some extent the empire from its misfortunes. But they failed to do so and as a result they not merely weakened the cause of the imperial power but invited their own doom. While expediency and self-interest characterised the motives of their vassals, Mysore appears to have been prompted by larger considerations than immediate political interests. It is indeed to the credit of Kanṭhīrava I (*C.* 1638-59) that while expanding and developing the infant principality of Mysore, he remained loyal to the empire under Venkaṭa II and S'rīranga III and this attitude was in great contrast to the disloyal, treacherous and suicidial policy adopted by the other tributaries of the empire. There seems little doubt that in arresting the encroachments of Bijāpur and Madura and her allies, Mysore rendered a signal service to the empire, justifying her claim to be considered the right-hand champion of S'rīranga in the South.[2] Dr. S. K. Aiyangar observes, "through all the vicissitudes of the empire ....Mysore could show herself as the champion of the empire."[3] Mysore continuously fought against the Bijāpur forces which invaded Mysore in 1639 under her great general Ranadullah Khan and later in 1647 under Mustapha Khan leaving behind them traces of widespread havoc and destruction.[4] The sufferings of the country may well be described in the words of Govinda Vaidya, a contemporary poet, the author of *Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijayam.* He writes, "cows were killed, images of gods were mutilated, women were ill-treated and towns and cities were plundered."[5] Kanṭhīrava fought valiantly against these marauding armies, drove them back with losses and rid the country of their menace. He was regarded by his

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2. *E. C.* Vol. *IV.* Yd. 5. p. 52. *C,* 1642. Bertrand; *Op.Cit.*p.267.
3. *The Nāyaks of Madura:* Intdn. p. 21.
4. *Mysūru Doregaḷa Vaṁs'āvali.* (*Mys. Dor. Vaṁ.*) MSS. pp. 34, 40-41; *Kanṭhīrava Narasarāja Vijayam.* Govinda Vaidya. pp. 198-284.
5. "ಗೋವುಗಳನು ಸೆದೆಬಡಿದು ಧರೆಯೊಳಿಹ
   ದೇವತಾ ಶಿಲೆಗಳನೊಡೆದು ।
   ಪಾವನ ಸಾಧ್ವಿಯರನು ಭಂಗಕೆ ತಂದು
   ಹಾವಳಿಯನು ಮಾಡಿದರು.

   K. N. V, Ch. XI. stanza 6.

grateful people as an incarnation of God Viṣṇu (*nararūpe Narasimha*) born in the world to destory the *mlecchas.*[6] Contemporary literature and later historical works contain numerous references to the achievements of Kanṭhīrava I in the defence of *dharma* and the country against the *turuskas.*[7] Kanṭhirava's successor Dēvarāja rendered no less service to the cause of *dharma.* It is said " all those that were persecuted by the *mlecchas* who had seized upon the land

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* * *

ಅಂದಿನ ಖಳರೀಗ ಬಂದು ತುರಕರಾಗಿ
ಮುಂದುಗೆಡಿಸಿ ಗೋದ್ವಿಜರ ।
ಕೊಂದು ಕೂಗುತ ಧರ್ಮಪಂದವನಳಿದರು.

* * *

ಅಳಿದರು ಹವ್ಯಕವ್ಯವ ವೇದಶಾಸ್ತ್ರವ
ಪಳಿದು ಪತಿವ್ರತೆಯರನು ।

K, N, V. Ch. IV.pp.35-36.

6. *E.C.* Vol. III. Sr. 103. *C.* 1646.
7. *K. N. V.* Ch. XVI. stanza, 92 which says :

ನರರಕ್ಕಸರ ಸಂಹರಿಸಿ ಭೂಭಾರವ
ಪರಿಹರಿಸುವೊಕ್ಕೈತಂದ ।
ನರರೂಪಿ ನರಸಿಂಹ ನರಸರಾಜೇಂದ್ರ ನೆಂ
ದುರೆ ಪೊಗಳಿತು ಸರ್ವ ಜನವು.

stanza 93 says.

ಪಟ್ಟಣ ಖಳವಶವಾಗೆ ಕರ್ಣಾಟಕ
ಕೆಟ್ಟು ನಮ್ಮಯ ರಾಜ್ಯಸಿರಿಗೆ
ಮುಟ್ಟುಡೆಯಾಗುವಂದದ ನಿಲಿಸಿದನೆಂದು
ಸೃಷ್ಟೀಶರು ಪೊಗಳಿದರು.

stanza 94 runs as follows :

ಶೀವಿದ ಪುಣ್ಯಸ್ಥಳದ ರಾಜ್ಯವ ಪಾಪ
ಜೀವಿಗಳಿಗೆ ವಶಗೊಡದೆ ।
ದೇವಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣರ ಪಿರಿದು ರಕ್ಷಿಸಿದ ನೀ
ಭೂವರನೆಂದುದು ಲೋಕ ॥

K. N. V. Ch. XVII. st. 5.

ಧರೆಗೆ ದುರ್ಜನರಾದ ತುರಕರ ಬಲವನು
ಹರಿಹಂಚಿ ಮಾಡಿ ಯೋಡಿಸಿದ
ದೊರೆರಾಯ ನರಸ ರಾಜೇಂದ್ರ.

Venkataramaiya and others : *Mysūru Doregaḷā Pūrva Vaṁs'āvaḷi.* *Annals of the Mysore Royal Family* : pp. 76, 86.

8. *M. A. R.* 1917. pp. 34-35.
9. *E.C.* Vol. *IV.* Yd 43. p. 148. C. 1667.
10. *M. A. R.* 1917. p. 34, lines 21 and 22.

flocked to him for protection."[8] He is described as "the wild-fire to the forest of *turuskas*,"[9] and as "the bearer of the just burden of sovereignty for protecting the Dēvas and the Brāhmaṇās" (*ciram dēvabrāhmaṇa rakṣaṇāya pṛthvi sāmrājya dīkṣam vaham*).[10] One of the epithets applied to Chikkadēvarāja is '*yavana javanam*' (death incarnate to the *yavanās*). If Chikkadēvarāja maintained friendly relations with the Mughal emperor and sent an embassy to his court in *C.* 1699, it was more as a matter of political expediency rather than a compromise with the traditional religious and cultural ideal. It had for its object the preservation of the integrity of Mysore against the plundering expeditions of the Marāṭhās who were contesting with the Mughals for the supremacy of the South.

Apart from the services of the Wodeyars of Mysore for the cause of the county and culture in the larger national sphere, their contribution to the preservation of Karnāṭaka and its distinct culture cannot be underestimated. After the fateful battle of Raksa Tangadi and the disintegration of the Vijayanagara empire, Karnāṭaka became the scene of continued aggressions of the Marāṭhās, Shāhi kingdoms and Mughal generals in the South who were thirsting for territory and plunder. The credit for saving as much of Karnāṭaka as possible from the encroachments and influences of neighbouring powers and of re-establishing its unity in these difficult conditions and safeguarding the distinctive characteristics of its culture must belong to Mysore. With the rise of S'ivāji the Marāṭha element tried to exert itself on Karnāṭaka in 1677. Mysore made a desperate stand under Chikkadēvarāja and repulsed the forces of S'ivāji.[12] The efforts of Chikkadevarāja and his successors against the forces of S'ivāji and later on the Pēs'wās definitely arrested the progress of

11. Mallikarjuna : *S'riranga Māhātmya*. Mss. p. 27.

12. Tirumalārya : *Apratima Vīra Caritam*. 1. p. 30 ; III. p. 28. and *Chikkadēvarāja Binnappam*. p. 2. iv, 10.
and also ; *E. C.* III. Sr. 14. Sr. 64. *E. C.* XIV. Mys. 15. p. 79.
Col Wilks : *History of Mysore*. Vol. 1. p. 149 : See also *QJMS*. Krishnarāja Memorial Number 1940, pp. 380-85, S'ivāji and the Mysore Rāj' by Dr. M. H. Krishna.

13. *Annals* : pp. 114, 160.

of the Marāṭhas in Southern Karnāṭaka.[13] The rulers were described as ruling the earth 'seated on the jewelled throne of Karnāṭaka,'[14] and generally bore the title '*Karnāṭaka bhūmaṇḍalādhīs'vara,*' '*Dakṣina dik cakravartī,*' '*S'ringāra Karnāṭa Cakri,*' '*Karnāṭaka Cakrēs'vara.*'[15] These titles convey nothing but an eloquent assertion of their supreme position as rulers of the Karnāṭaka as opposed to the designs of the hostile powers.

The vast body of literary and epigraphical material relating to the history of the Wodeyars of Mysore reflect the high ideals and kingship which inspired them in their administration of the country, ideals which were in conformity with those expounded in ancient Indian literature like the *smṛtis* and the *dharmas'āstras* Like kings of yore they ruled agreeably to *dharma*. The monarchs on the throne are invariably described as '*dharmadim dharēyam pālisutta,*' '*dharmadim Rājyamgaivalli*' '*dharma mārgadalli pālisutta,*' '*atis'aya dharma nītiyoḷu,*' '*sthira dharma mārga doḷage,*' etc.[16] The lofty ideal of *dharma* formed the basis of kingship in Mysore. Beṭṭada Cāmēndra, the successor of Rāja Wodeyar is recorded as being " ever devoted to *dharma*, kind and pure."[17] His successor Dēvarāja according to a contemporary epigraph assumed the burden of kingship " just for the service of the Gods and Brāhmaṇas." [19] He ruled the kingdom according to the precepts of *smṛtis* (*smṛtyukta dharma dinda*).[20] *Duṣṭa nigraha*

14. *Chick. Vam.* p. 160 ; *Annals* : p. 157 ; *M.A.R.* 1918. p. 58.
15. *K. N. V.* Ch. I, stanza 21, Ch. 31, stanza 35 ; *Chik.Vam.* p. 166 ; *E. C.* III. Sr. 94 ; Chidānanda Kavi : *Munivams'ābhyudaya*. MSS, p. 25, Ch. II. stanza 85 ; *E C.* XIV. Mys. 115, p, 111.
16. *K. N. V.* Ch. II stanzas 20, 21 ; Ch.IV. stanza, 107 ; Ch.IX. stanza 3, Ch. XX. stanza 1 and Ch. XXVI, stanza 40. *Mysūru Doregaḷa Vams'āvali* ; MSS. p. 23; *E. C.* Vol. IV. part ii. Gu, 64, p. 117 ; *Munivamas'ābhudaya*, MSS. p. 18, Ch. II. stanza 7. *Annals* ; p. 14, 17, 63 and 93. *Mysūru Doregaḷa Pūrvābhyudaya*, MSS. p. 29.
17. *E. C.* Vol. V. part i. Ag. 64, C.1647.
18. *K. N. V. Op. Citl.*
19. *E. C.* Vol. III, Sr. 151, Sr. 103 : *M. A. R.* 1917. p. 34.
20. *E. C.* Vol. IV. Yd. 54.

şişța paripālana, or punishing the wicked and upholding the just was always recognised as the special function of sovereignty by the rulers.[21] Apart from maintaining law and order, the promotion of the welfare of the people was one of the chief functions of the state. In this respect the Rājas of Mysore generally considered their happiness was identical with the happiness of their subjects. The idea that kingship was a contract between the ruler and the ruled received increasing importance under Rāja Wodeyar and his successors. The general character of kingship prevalent in Mysore and the solicitude of the kings for the welfare of their subjects is nowhere so well echoed as in the following passage[22] addressed by Dēvarāja to Chikkadēvarāja on the eve of the latter's assumption of power : " Dear brother, you are born as a great ornament to the Yadu race, your virtues have won for you the admiration of your subjects. I have transferred the burden of the State to you. Henceforth you should rule the land with such qualities that formed part of Lord Rāma. You are well versed in all the *s'āstras*. In spite of it, by virtue of my overwhelming love for you I am to request you to devote yourself to the service of Gods and Brāhmaṇas without caring too much for your own welfare. Look upon your subjects kindly like your own children. By doing so, you will accumulate wealth, prosperity and fame." Dēvarāja is said to have divided his kingdom into four parts, giving the first to Brāhmaṇas, the second to the Gods, the third to charity and retaining the fourth for his own use.[23] Kanṭhīrava I was one of the most popular monarchs and his rule was characterised by prosperity and plenty. An inscription of his reign dated C. 1647 says thus : " The Lord of the gods sent good rains, the earth brought forth full fruit, all points of the compass were included, the respective orders were diligent in their several rites, all the people were free from disease, the

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21. *Annals* ; p. 45, 48. *Mysūru Doregaļa Vaṁs'āvali*, MSS. p. 32. *Mysūru Doregaļa Pūrvābhyudaya*, MSS. p.22.

22. *Chick. Vam.* pp. 187-88.
'ಮಕ್ಕಳೋಲ್ ಮರುಕದಿಂ ಪ್ರಜೆಯಂ ಕಾಪಿಡುವುದು ...... ಭೋಗಿಪದೆ ಫಲ ಮೆಂದೆಣಿಸದೆ ದೇವರಂ ಪಾರ್ವರಂ ಪೊರೆದವರ ಸೇವೆಗೆಯ್ವುದುಂ.'

23. *E.C.* Vol.IV.Yd.54 ; & *E.C.* III. Sr.14.

country was then free from trouble, women were devoted to their husbands and all the world was prosperous."[24]

The rulers of Mysore like their great predecessors, the Vijayanagara kings, were staunch upholders of *varṇās'rama dharma.* Society according to Indian thought is based on *varṇās'rama dharma.* The members of various classes and groups composing the social order should implicitly follow the *dharma* or duties prescribed for their own *varṇa* and *ās'rama*—as a means of attaining salvation — without interfering with the freedom of others to pursue their own mode of life. It implies the ideal of social co-existence. The function of the State is to provide the means for the individuals or groups comprising the society to pursue this ideal unhindered. The king according to classical precepts is the preserver and upholder of *dharma* and conserver of social tradition. He is also described as "the Maker of his Age" (*rāja kālasya kāraṇam*).[25] It is the primary duty of the king to govern in such a manner as would not only protect the people, afford them justice and ensure their economic prosperity but also to maintain social development and look after the moral well-being of his subjects. The Wodeyars of Mysore well versed in the *dharmas'āstras* and epics were truly

24. *E. C.* Vol. III. Sr. 103, p. 95.

25. Rangaswami Iyengar, K. V: *Rājadharma*, pp.102-4.

26. ಜಾತಿ ಶಂಕರವಿಲ್ಲ ಜಡವೇಹಿಗಳಿಲ್ಲ
ನೀತಿ ಹೀನರು.... ಘಾತುಕರಿಲ್ಲ, ದುರ್ಜನರಿಲ್ಲ
ಕರ್ಣಾಟ ರೀತಿಯು ನೆಂತು ಬಣ್ಣಿಪೆನು.

K.N.V. Ch. II. stanza 16.

* * *

ಸ್ನಾನ ಸಂಧ್ಯಾವಂದನೆ ಜಪತಪಗಳ ಮೌನದೆ
ಮಾಡಿ ರಾಜಿಸುವ ಜ್ಞಾನಾಧಿಕರಿಂದ.

Ibid Ch, V, stanza 50.

* * *

ಆರು ಶಾಸ್ತ್ರವು ನಾಲ್ಕು ವೇದಪುರಾಣದ
ಸಾರದರ್ಥವ ನಿರ್ಣೈಸಿ
ತೋರಿವಾಚಿಸುವ ಬ್ರಾಹ್ಮಣ ....

Ibid. Ch. VI. stanza 41.

See also *K.N.V.* Ch. 11, stanza 74 : Ch. III. stanzas 5 and 102 ; Ch. IV. stanzas 84, 100, 105 ; Ch. VI. stanzas 50-58, Ch. XVIII. stanzas 35, 36 ; Ch. XXIII, stanzas 32, 38, 40.

conscious of this two-fold function of Hindu kingship. That it was not merely a theory but a principle set before them as a part of their kingly duties is evidenced by contemporary sources. The rulers as well as the subjects were alive to the relationship of *dharma* to society. It was the endeavour of the former to protect *varṇās'rama dharma* while it was the ambition of the latter to follow the ancient precepts and pursue the cherished goal of life. That this ideal was strictly enforced by Kanṭhīrava I and was favoured by his subjects is amply borne out in the literary works and inscriptions of the time.[26] Similarly Dēvarāja upheld the ideal and his people conformed to it.[27] We are told that Chikkadēvarāja, an accomplished and pious ruler, strove to preserve this ideal with a view to promote social harmony, political stability and individual good. He strictly enforced *svadharma* on the respective castes and communites.[28] *Sacchūdrācāranirṇaya*[29] a social treatise attributed to Chikkadēvarāja (*C.* 1687-90) is an eloquent plea on the part of the prince to all the classes and to *Sacchūdras* (good s'ūdras) in particular, to strictly adhere to the duties and practices of their respective *varṇas* and *ās'ramas*. A good s'ūdra, he writes, may attain *mukti* by following his own *ācāra* rather than feel discontented over the duties laid on the other three divisions. What may be the reason that led Chikkadēvarāja to write this work? There is enough evidence to show that the latter half of the Seventeenth Century witnessed the beginnings of social upheaval. Certain lower classes and castes jealous of the rites and practices of other classes transgressed their own practices and customs and adopted those of the latter leading to social decay as evidenced in certain communities

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27. *Chikkadēvarāja Vijayam*: Ch. V. stanza 170; *E.C.* Vol. IV. Yd. 54. *C*, 1666. p. 157, *M.A.R.* 1934, No. 39, *C.* 1667. p. 164.

28. *Chik. Vam.* pp. 160, 188-89.
'ಕೃಷ್ಣನಂತೆ ಧರ್ಮಪ್ರತಿಷ್ಠಾಪನಂ ಗೆಯ್ವಂ'
Apratima Vīra Carita, stanzas 149, 151.
Chikkdēvarāja Binnapam: pp. 3, 33.
Munivams'ābhyudaya, Ch.1. stanza 155.
'ಸರ್ವವರ್ಣಾಶ್ರಮಪಾಲನ ಪೂರ್ವಕ ಊರ್ವಿಯು ಪಾಲಿಪುದೊಂದು......'
Gīta Gōpalam, pp. 3, 58.

29. *M. A. R.* 1938. pp. 77-79.

intermarrying with inferior groups. In particular some of the *arasu* families related to the royal house had shown a tendency to give up the due performance of practices and ceremonies originally prescribed for them and had entered into marriage relations with families of lower status.[30] Realising the need for preserving undiluted the social position of these families, the ruler instituted an enquiry into the matter and differentiated the doubtful families from those of pure blood.[31] Probably as a means of upholding the ancient ideal of *varṇās'rama dharma*, obedience to which was an essential condition of maintaining social solidarity and peace, he wrote this famous treatise.

The rulers were intensely religious. They observed religious obligations in all their details. Their piety is further seen in the innumerable grants they have made to persons of all religious orders and institutions and in their observance of daily rituals and visits to holy places. Cāmarāja, the successor of Rāja Wodeyar, daily listened to the sacred lore *(purāṇa itihāsādi punyakatha sravaṇānurāga)* and constantly undertook religious tours.[32] Immadi Rāja Wodeyar (1637-38 A.D.) was devoted to the worship of gods and to the listening of devotional literature.[33] It is said that none equalled Kanṭhīrava I in bathing in holy rivers, bestowing gifts and offering worship to Viṣṇu. He is described by his court poet Govinda Vaidya as '*satyavratācāra sampanna*'[35] and ever engaged in '*Harināma, Haripūja, Harināma saṅkīrtana*.'[36] He scrupulously observed the details of the Vaiṣṇava faith, namely, *Vaiṣṇava Dīkṣa* (keeping the head unshaved for long periods), *Bhāgavata purāṇa prasanga* (listening to Bhāgavata Purāṇa), *Ēkādas'ī Vrata* (fasting on *Ēkādas'ī* days), *Haridhyāna* (contemplation on Hari or Viṣṇu), *Brindāvana sēva* (worship

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30 & 31. *Annals*: pp. 129-130.

32. *Chick. Vam*, pp. 24, 64-65: *Mysūru Dorēgaḷa Pur*. MSS. p. 16; *E. C.* Vol. III. TN.62, pp. 234-7, *C.* 1622.

33. *Chick. Vam. Op. Cit.* p. 65.

34. *E. C.* Vol. III. Sr. 103, *C.* 1647; *K. N. V.* Ch. XXVI. stanzas 6-7, 31-32.

35. *K. N. V.* Ch. XXVI, stanza 15.

36. *Ibid.* stanza 8.

of the Brindāvana containing the plant of *Tuḷasi*).[37] In the observance of *Ēkādas'ī Vrata* he is compared to the great purāṇic king Ambarīṣa.[38] From a contemporary literary work we can glean a picture of Dēvarāja (*C.* 1659-73) rising early at dawn, taking his bath, wearing silken clothes with the *tīka* on his forehead representing the thousand names of Viṣṇu, performing *hōmas* or oblations to fire, bestowing gifts of cows and money to the Brāhmaṇas and listening to the recitation of *purāṇas* and other sacred texts. One has only to read the pages of the works of Tirumalārya like *Chikkadēvarāja Vaṁs'āvaḷi*, *Chikkadēvarāja Vijaya*, *Apratima Vīra Carita* and the various *māhatmyās* of the time and the works attributed to Chikkadēvarāja like *Gītā Gōpālam* and *Chikkadēvarāja Binnapam* to understand the devotion to religion and the philosophical bent of mind of Chikkadēvarāja. The deep sense of piety which marked the life of the monarchs is also reflected in the life of the people. Religion formed the chief cultivation of one's life.

The religion which found favour with the Wodeyars of Mysore in the Sixteenth Century was the *Jangama* creed or the popular form of Veeras'aivism which was then the most widespread form of religion in the country. The later rulers, chiefly Kanṭhīrava I and Chikkadēvarāja showed marked predilection for Vaiṣṇavism. While they were more inclined to the cult of Viṣṇu they paid due regard to S'aivism and s'akti worship as well. Whatever was the personal faith of the rulers they identified themselves with all the communities of the kingdom and extended their patronage to all sects alike. The Wodeyars like the Hoysala and the Vijayanagara monarchs were known for their catholicity of religious outlook. They maintained and built temples to S'iva and Viṣṇu and endowed to the various religious bodies. God Tirunārāyaṇa of Melkote, Ranganātha of Srirangapattaṇa, Lord Venkatēs'vara of Tirupati, S'rīkantēs'vara of Nanjangud, Cāmundēs'varī on the Mahābalācala hill near Mysore, Trinēs'vara and Lakṣmikānta S'vāmi in Mysore,

37. *Annals* : pp. 92-93 ; *K. N. V.* Ch. VII. stanzas 63 ; 79, Ch. XXVI. stanzas 6-8 ; *Mysūru Dore. Vam.* MSS. p. 19.

38. *K.N.V*, Ch. XXVI, stanza 6.

were regarded as *kuladēvatas* or family deities and claimed their constant attention.[39] Cāmarāja (*C*.1617-37), a devotee of S'iva and Viṣṇu who is described as '*saddarṣana dharma sthāpanācārya*' was also a great patron of Jainism. In *C*. 1631 while he was on a tour of his dominions he visited S'ravaṇa Beḷgola. There he became deeply concerned when he learnt that the worship at the place had suffered as the lands of the maṭha had been mortgaged and the officiating priest Cārukīrti Paṇḍita Yōgindra had taken refuge at Bhallakipura owing to the harrassments of Jaggadēvarāya, the ruler of Cannapatna. Cāmaraja, not merely secured the release and restoration of the mortgaged lands but arranged for the return of the Yōgi from the latter place, accorded him a fitting reception at the capital, conferred on him many honours including grant of lands and fully restored religious life at the place.[40] Inscriptions and literary sources throw a flood of light on the broad-mindedness in religious matters of Kanṭhīrava I. He was no doubt a staunch Vaiṣṇavite. But he was as much a devotee of S'iva as Viṣṇu (*Harihara bhaktiyalliruva*)[41] and worshipped Lakṣmikānta, Trinēs'vara, and Cāmundēs'vari.[42] He made provision for the worship of God Visvanātha at Banaras and for Nanjundēs'vara at Nanjangud.[43] He built *agrahāras* at *paṣcimaranga* (Srirangapattaṇa), *Karigiri* (Karighatta), *Yādavagiri* (Melkote), S'rīs'ailam, Banaras, S'rīrangaṁ and Rāmēs'varam and bestowed them on different sects of Brāhmaṇas with arrangements for feeding and payment of annuities.[44] Similar was the spirit which characterised the religious attitude of Dēvarāja[45] and Chikkadēvarāja.

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39. *Annals*: pp.21, 100 ; *Chick. Vam*. p. 121
40. *Muni. Vam*. MSS. pp,19-22: *E.C.*II. SB. 250, p. 106 ; No. 352, 1634, pp. 155-6 ; *Annals*, p. 60.
41. *K. N. V*. Ch. VII. stanza 63.
42. *Ibid*. Ch. IV. stanza 96 ; *Annals*, pp. 78-9.
43. *E. C*. Vol. III. Sr. 103, *C*. 1646. p. 95 : *Annals*, p. 79.
44. *Ibid*. Vol. IV. Yd. 5 ; Vol. III. Sr. 103 ; Vol. V. Ag. 64.
45. *Ibid*. Vol. IV. Yd. 54, *C*. 1666. pp. 156-60 ; *M. A. R*. 1936, No. 48, *C*. 1662, pp. 122-24 ; *M. A. R*. 1941, No. 24, pp. 174-75 : *E. C*. Vol. III. NJ. 56, *C*. 1662 ; No. 81, p. 341 ; *S. I. I*. (1936) Vol. IX, No. 108, *C*. 1621, pp. 89, 92 ; *S. I. I*. (1941) Vol. IX. p. 693. No. 703, etc.

The period of Chikkadēvarāja's rule saw the ascendancy of S'rī-vaiṣṇavism in the country. His early education and training received at the hands of the great S'rīvaiṣṇava preceptors Alasingarārya and his son Tirumalārya turned him into an ardent Vaiṣṇava. His intense interest and zeal in S'rīvaiṣṇavism and the patronage he extended to that religion no doubt led him to be hailed as *S'rīvaiṣṇava maṭha pratistāpaka*' (establisher of the religion of S'rīvaiṣṇavism) and '*Sadā S'rīvaiṣṇava priyaḥ*' (one to whom S'rīvaiṣṇavas were ever dear).[46] But his education was broad-based enough to enable him to understand and appreciate the finer aspects of other religions and developed in him a universal outlook. He was one who had deeply read the *Bhagavad Gīta*, the *purāṇas*, and the *dharmas'āstras* and imbibed their spirit. He often entered into religious discussion and disputations with exponents of different faiths. The author of *Munivaṁs'ābhudaya* tells us[47] that his constant inquiries into and discussions on *Mīmāṁsa*, S'aiva, Vaiṣṇava and Jaina systems of philosophy enabled him to acquire an insight into the secrets of all true religions. According to the above literary work Jainism had such decisive influence upon Chikkdēvarāja during the early years of his reign that he went to the extent of observing the absolute sanctity of all life (*jīva dayāparaṇāgi*). He gave up certain prohibited things and instructed the officials of the palace household to bring only purified water for his use. S'aivism was not without its appeal to him. *Gītā Gōpālam* reveals his respect for and devotion to S'iva.[48] He is said to have been always engaged in the worship of the *Jangamas* and discussed the S'*ivācāra* doctrine.[49] He made numerous grants to all the three sects among the Brāhmaṇas—*Advaitins*, *S'rīvaiṣṇavas* and the *Dvaitins* or *Madhvās*.[50] Similarly, Jainas and Veeras'aivas enjoyed his munificence.[51] Of his celebrated ministers Tirumalārya and Chikupadhāyaya were S'rīvaiṣṇavas, Viṣalākṣa Paṇḍita was a Jaina, while S'aḍākṣariah

46. *E. C.* Vol. XIV. Mys. 115, p. 99, *C.* 1674, pp. 99, 112. *M. A. R.* 1911-12, pp. 56, 57.
47. *Muni. Vam. MSS.* stanza 151.
48. *Gītā Gōpālam*, p. 51.
49. *Mysore Gazetteer*. Vol. II. Pt. iv. p. 2462.
50- *Annals*, pp. 137-42 ; *E. C.* Vol. XIV. Mys. No. 115.

and Linganna were Veeras'aivas. As against the overwhelming evidence testifying to the universalism of Chikkadēvarāja's religious toleration the story of his alleged persecution of the *Jangamas* as narrated by Col. Wilks [52] and Dēvacandra [53] must be viewed with caution. If the rebellion of the peasants and landlords during the years C.1682-84 as a protest against the revenue reform of Chikkadēvarāja were ruthlessly put down by the latter and if the *Jangamas*, who held most of the lands and who opposed to pay the enhanced assessment, suffered during the course of the action by the ruler in the administration of the state, it cannot be interpreted as an act of religious persecution but as a determined attempt on the part of the monarch to establish order and authority. There is no instance of a Wodeyar ruler persecuting or ill-treating any particular sect for religious opinion. The Wodeyars rose above sectarian prejudices which unfortunately had a strong hold on the people of the age as a consequence of Jaina, Vaiṣṇava and Veeras'aiva differences. On the other hand the policy which the State pursued in religious matters was so shaped as to secure concord of all religious faiths. They had the breadth of vision to comprehend the greatness of all religions and regarded them as so many diverse faiths leading ultimately to the supreme reality, the *Brahman*. They realised the true import of the *Bhagavad Gītā* and had sympathy with the expression of genuine religious feeling wherever they found it. Theirs was an attitude of religious synthesis.

A glimpse into our cultural past reveals that Mysore, in short Karnāṭaka has been the home of tolerance from the earliest times. More than two thousand two hundred years ago the Jainas of the Magadhan empire led by their preceptor Bhadrabāhu S'rutakēvali migrated to the south and found refuge in the heart of Mysore. Subsequently the philosophy of tolerance and good-will so nobly preached by As'ōka found a fertile soil in this country. In later centuries Mysore became the cradle of *Vedānta*. S'aṁkara, the

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51. *Belgoḷada Gommatēs'vara Caritre*. MSS. pp. 100-109.
E. C. Vol. II. SB. No. 365 ; *M.A.R.* 1907-08, p, 23.
E. C. Vol. IV. Ng. 43 ; *M. A. R.* 1934, p. 52.
52. *Wilks' History of Mysore*, (1910). Vol. 1. pp, 206-08.
53. Devacandra : *Rājāvali Katha* (1839) Ch.XII. pp. 482-85; 487-88.

founder of the *Advaita* school, Rāmānuja, the exponent of the *Vis'iṣṭādvaita* school and Madhva, the founder of the *Dvaita* siddhānta, made Mysore the centre of their activities. The followers of these and other forms of religion lived in a spirit of harmony and peaceful co-existence. Peaceful co-existence implies mutual respect, understanding and toleration and the recognition of freedom of conscience. Freedom in religion was always respected and safeguarded by the rulers of the Karnāṭaka. The S'ravaṇa Beḷgola Inscription of Bukka I [54] (*C.* 1368) where the sovereign impressed upon the S'rīvaiṣṇavas and the Jainas that there was no difference whatever between the Vaiṣṇava *darṣana* and the Jaina *darṣana* and that the harm or good done to one must be regarded as the harm or good done to the other, shows how the conception of religious freedom was held sacred and invisible and unceasingly fostered by the Vijayanagara rulers. Tolerance and mutual respect not merely promoted social harmony but helped the realisation that the religious object and the religious response were very much the same though the names and forms may differ. How well such a spirit of enlightened liberalism had developed in Mysore is best exemplied in the famous invocatory verse appearing in an inscription in the Cannakēs'va temple at Belūr founded by the Hoysala king Viṣṇuvardhana. The verse reads thus :

" *Yam S'aivah samupāsate S'iva iti*
Brahmāti Vedāntino
Bauddaḥ Buddha iti pramāna
Pātavaḥ kartēti Naiyāyikaḥ
Arhan iti yathā Jaina s'āṣana ratāḥ
Karmēti Mīmāṁsaka
Soayām v *vidhadhētu vāñcchita phalaṁ*
Trailokya nāthō Hariḥ "

He whom the S'aivas worship as S'iva, the Vedāntins as *Brahman*, the Buddhists as Buddha, the Naiyāyikas as Kaṛta or agent, the Jainas as Arhat and the Mīmāṁsakās as Karma, may that Hari, the Lord of the Three Worlds grant us the boon which we pray.

54. *E.C.*II (Revised) SB.344: See also. *E.C.*Vol.IX. Mg.181.

The verse has truly immortalised the spirit of unity of all faiths. The Wodeyars of Mysore who were the inheritors of such a glorious heritage in social and religious thought naturally developed and fostered the spirit of universalism in religious thought, a unique characteristic of Hinduism. They were the champions of Hindu culture in all its aspects.

TWO GRANTS OF KANTHIRAVA RAJA OF MYSORE

BY DR S. SRIKANTHA SASTRI, M.A., D.Litt.

THE two sets of copper plates of Kanṭhīrava Rāja (II) were discovered recently while ploughing near Sāgarakaṭṭe in the neighbourhood of the Kannambāḍi (Krishnarāja Sāgara) dam. Many villages near the Kāveri were submerged when the dam was erected over thirty-five years ago. Occasionally in the dry season when the water has receded a little, old vestiges can be identified. One ancient village site so revealed was ploughed by a cultivator and these copper plates came to light.

Each set consists of three thick copper plates and both the sets refer to the same donor and donee (though the dates of the grants are seven years apart). All the six plates were found together with a thick copper ring and seal. The seal has the usual figure of the Varāha, with the sun and moon at the top.

The earlier set of these plates is smaller in size, each plate being five and a half inches broad and eight inches long, one-eighth of an inch thick, rounded at the top and with a hole for the ring. The second set, later in date, is six and a half inches broad and eight inches long, similarly rounded at the top and having a hole.

Both the grants are written in Nāgari characters and the language is Saṁskrit. For the description of the boundaries, as usual, the *dēs'abhāṣa* (Kannaḍa) is used. Only the first set bears the signature "S'rī Kanṭhīrava Rāju" in Kannaḍa characters, though the second grant says it is marked by the signature (*svahastākṣara*).

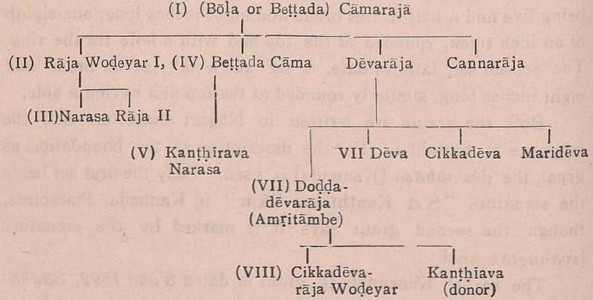
The earlier Kancanahaḷḷi grant is dated *S'aka 1592, Sādhāraṇa S'rāvaṇa Bahuḷa 12, Mangaḷavāra*, corresponding to Tuesday 2nd August 1670 A.D. The later Haḷehaḷḷi grant is dated *S'aka 1599* (in figures and words *ratna-graha-smaras'ara-indu*), *Pingaḷa Caitra S'uddha Navami Ravivāra*, corresponding to Sunday, 1st April 1677 A.D.

The village Kancanahaḷḷi is said to have been in Kannambāḍi Sthala, owned by Tirunārāyaṇayyangāru and Singarayyangāru and purchased by the king for donating. Its boundaries were—to the east of Coḷēnahaḷḷi, to the south of Yeḍahaḷḷi, to the west of Māragauḍana haḷḷi, to the north of Kallūru.

The second grant says that Haḷehaḷḷi was renamed Kanṭhīravapura after the donor. It was in the midst of Nāgenahaḷḷi, Tippūru, Hosapura and Mādanahaḷḷi, on the way to Paṭṭaṇa. This village also was in Kannambādi Sthala, Hosalanāḍu.

The donee Venkatēs'a Bhāgavata is described as an ardent devotee of Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa and styled a second Prahlāda. He was the son of Venkatādri and the grandson of Anantanārāyaṇa Bhāgavata of *Bhāradvāja gōtra*, *Āpastambasūtra* and *Yajus-s'ākhā*. In the second grant the father of the donee is mentioned as Venkatēs'a also.

The prince Kanṭhīrava is said to be the son of Dēvarāja (Doḍḍadēvarāja in the second grant), the grandson of Dēvarāja (and great-grandson of Cāmarāja in the second grant). He can therefore be identified with Kanṭhīrava, the second son of Doḍḍadēvarāja and the younger brother of the famous Cikkadēvarāja.



Cidānanda's *Munivaṁs'ābhyudaya* (*ā*. 1680 A.D. *Cf. Karnātaka Kavi Carite*, Vol. II. p. 508) says Immaḍi Rāja Wodeyar was the younger son (*kiriya annuga*) of Rāja Nṛpa I. But in the 'Annals of the Mysore Royal Family' Immaḍi Rāja Wodeyar, Kaṇṭhīrava Narasa and Muppina Dēvarāja are all made sons of (Beṭṭa) Cāmarāja by different mothers. Muppina Dēvarāja had a wife Dēvāji and

their son was Doḍḍadēvarāja (father of Chikkadēvarāja and Kanṭhīrava). A Kannaḍa record (*M. A. R.* 1942. p. 78) says that Cāmarāja (Beṭṭa) had three sons Rāja Wodeyar II, Kanṭhīrava Narasa and Dēvarāja. This Dēvarāja was the father of Doḍḍadēvarāja, [and another Dēvarāja whose name is omitted in many records but he ruled for some time. (*M. A. R.* 1938, p. 12). He was the uncle of Cikkadēvarāja]. This Doḍḍadēvarāja was the father of Cikkadēvarāja and Kanṭhīrava. In the records of the Kaḷale family Kanṭhīrava Narasa and Dēvarāja are the sons of (Bōḷa) Cāma. Dēvarāja was the father of Doḍḍadēvarāja. Cidānanda says Beṭṭada Cāma succeeded Rāja Wodeyar (II ?) and restored the maṭha at S'ravaṇa Beḷgola. Then ruled Kanṭhīrava Narasa who was succeeded by Dēvarāja, the younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja. While this Dēvarāja was ruling his elder brother Doḍḍadēvarāja's son Cikkadēvarāja visited S'ravaṇa Beḷgoḷa and obtained from Dēvarāja a grant of the village Madanaya for the maṭha. Then Cikkadēvarāja himself ascended the throne.

In Cikkupādhyāyā's works (*Cf. Karnāṭaka Kavi Carite* Vol.II. p. 470) it is said that Rāja Nṛpa (I), Beṭṭada Cāma, Dēvarāja and Cannarāja were sons of Bōḷa Cāmarāja. Rāja Woḍeyar I had two sons Narasa Rāja and Immaḍi Rāja Wodeyar (II). Narasa's son was Cāma. Beṭṭada Cāma had a son Kanṭhīrava Narasa. His younger brother Dēvarāja had four sons, Doḍḍadeva, Dēva, Cikkadēva and Maridēva. After Doḍḍadēva his younger brother Dēvarāja ruled and was succeeded by Doḍḍadēva's son Cikkadēvarāja. Cikkadēvarāja's younger brother was Kanṭhīrava. Sr. 14 (Mys. Ins. Pt. I, p. 34) of 1586 A.D. gives the same genealogy and implies that Doḍḍadēvarāja's younger brother Dēvarāja was also some times styled Doḍḍadēvarāja. Sr. 151 of 1679 A.D. gives the same account and compares Doḍḍadēvarāja's sons Cikkadēvarāja and Kanṭhīrava to Lava and Kus'a (the sons of S'rī Rāma) by the same mother.

The Kannaḍa account (*M.A.R.* 1942. p. 78) gives the dates of succession and death and duration of rule, differing from the *Annals* and inscriptions. Kanṭhīrava Narasa was crowned on 28th September 1638, but according to the *Annals* (p. 65) on 13th November. He died in *S'aka* 1582 (wrong for 1581) *Vikāri Bhādrapada*

S'uddha 1 (9th August 1659) after a reign of twenty-two years. In the *Annals* (p.25) the date is given as 17th July 1659. Then Doḍḍadēva was crowned and ruled upto *S'aka* 1595 *Paridhāvi Phālguṇa S'udda 7* (*Phālguṇa S'uddha 5* in the *Annals*). He died at Chikkanāyakanahaḷḷi. Cikkadēvarāja, the eldest son was at Hangaḷa then and Daḷavoy Komārayya brought Cikkadēva from Hangaḷa by way of Kaḷale and Garaḷapuri to Mysore and then crowned him at Srirangapaṭṭaṇa on *Phālguṇa Bahuḷa 12, Parīdhāvi, S'aka 1595* (1594 ?) (1673 A.D. March 3). No mention is made of the rule of Dēvarāja, the younger brother of Doḍḍadēvarāja, who also ruled for some time. The Para-Vāsudēva temple in Gunḍlupet was built by Cikkadēvarāja for the merit of his father Doḍḍadēvarāja as mentioned in the *Annals* and an unpublised grant of 1674 A.D. referred to in *M.A.R.* 1934. p. 52. Doḍḍadēvarāja is said to have ruled for fourteen years, from 17th July (or 9th August) 1659 to 18th (or 13th February) 1673. Then Cikkadēva was crowned on March 3, 1673 A.D. and he died on 17th November 1704 A.D.

In the *Santānāmbuja* (drawn up in 1860), Kanṭhīrava Narasa is said to have ruled for 50 years 9 months and 21 days from *S'aka 1561, Bahudhānya Kārtika S'uddha 2* (28-10-1638) and he was succeeded by Doḍḍadēvarāja in *S'*. 1582, *Vikāri Bhādrapada S'uddha 10* (17-8-1659) and ruled for 13 years, 5 months and 6 days. He was succeeded by Cikkadēvarāja on *Phālguṇa Bahuḷa 12, Parīdhāvi S'. 1595* (15-5-1673 A.D.). There is no mention of Doḍḍadēva's younger brother Dēvarāja.

The inscriptions of Doḍḍadēvarāja and Kanṭhīrava are :

A.D. 1661	Bhesa CP.	1	E.C. IV. Yd. 53, 54, *S'*. 1583. *Parābhava Pauṣa, S'uddha, Makara Sankrānti.* December 22 (?) 1661.
1662		2	E.C. III. Nj.56, *S'*.1584. *S'ubhakṛt Caitra S'u* 5, Devarāja Wodeyar and Dēvāmba. March, 14th 1662.
1663	Palace CP.	3	E.C.XIV. My.114, *S'*.1585, *S'ōbhakṛt Caitra S'u 12*, to Rājendra Bhārati. April 9, 1663, Thursday, *Nija Caitra* (?).

4 M.A.R. 1944. No. 34 CP. to Rāghavendra Svāmi, disciple of Sudhīndra, who was the disciple of Sumatindra of Rāghavendra Maṭha, Nanjangūd, S'. 1585. Monday, 6th July 1663, A.D.

5 E.C. III. Md.114, S'.1585. *S'ōbhakṛt Āṣaḍha S'u. 12*, Monday July 6, 1663.

6 E.C. III. Tn.23, S'. 1585 *S'ōbhakṛt S'u* (?) *Vaiṣṇavatithi. Somavāra*, (above date ?)

7 E.C. III. Sr.13 (?) Devarāja Wodeyar under S'rīranga.

1664 8 E.C. III. Sr.13, S'. 1585, *S'ōbhakṛt Phālguṇa Ba 10.* Dēvarāja Wodeyar's son Mari Dēvarāja Wodeyar to God Ranganātha, March 12, 1664.

9 E.C. XII. Kg.46, Doḍḍadēvarāja under S'rīranga.

1665 10 E.C. IV. Gundlupet 25, S'.1586 *Krōdhi Pauṣa, Ba 30. S'ukrvāra.* Devarāja, son of Dēvarāja, grandson of Sōmarasa. January 6, 1665 (Solar eclipse, not mentioned).

11 E.C. XIV. My. 116, S'. *1586, Krōdhi Puṣya Ba 30*, Friday, Solar Eclipse, *S'aḍgrahayōga* of Sun, Moon, Mars, Jupiter, Mercury and Kētu. Grant to Lakhappa Jyōtiṣa by Dēvarāja son of Devarāja, grandson of Cāma, Friday, January, 6, 1665, Solar Eclipse.

12 E.C. IV. Gunḍlupet 64, S'. 1770 (?) *Vis'vāvasu Vais'āka Su' 5*, Monday. Under Venkatapaṭi. Dēvarāja's son

Dēvarāja of Sūrya simhāsana built *viraktamaṭha* in Nanjangūd, April 10,1665, Monday.

13 M. A. R. 1943, No. 49, *S'*. 1587 *Vis'vāvasu Puṣya S'u* 3. Friday *Makara Sankṛānti*. Friday, 29th December 1665, Mysore Dēvarāja's son Devārāja *Lambakarṇa Gōtra*. Dhannōji gave three villages to Kukke S'ubramaṇya. Signed Dēvaraju.

14 E.C. IV. Yd. 54. 1665, a grant by Chikkadēva.

1666 15 M.A.R. 1934 No. 39, *S'*. 1589. *Plavanga Caitra S'u 3*, Sunday (17th March 1667). Grant of Hosakote in Kannambādi Sthala by Dhannōji and his wife Rāmabhāyamma. Signed S'rī Dēvaraju. Composer Tirumalārya, son of Aḷagha Singarārya of *Kaus'ika gōtra*, in the Court of Dēvarāja.

16 E.C.IV. Yd. 43, *S'*. 1589. *Plavanga*. Dēvarāja's son Dēvarāja.

1668 17 E.C. IV. Gunḍlupet 65, S'. 1590. *Kīlaka Āṣāḍha S'u 1, Sani*, May 30 Saturday, 1668, (*Adhika Āṣāḍha*).

1669 18 E.C. IV. Hunsur 139, *S'*. 1591 *Saumya Kārtika S'u 12*, Sunday. Kanṭhīrava, son of Dēvarāja, made Tarīkallu into Kanṭhīrava Samudra. (Tuesday ? October 26, 1669 or probably Sunday, October 4, 1670). E.C.V.Cn.155. E.C. XII Tp. 72.

1670 19 E.C. IV. Hg. 119, 120,. *S'*. 1592 (?) grant by Kanṭhīrava Arasu Kancanahalli grant. *S'*. 1592, *Sādhāraṇa, S'rāvaṇa Ba 12. Mangaḷavāra.* Tuesday, August 2. 1670 A.D. Kanṭhīrava, son of Dēvarāja, grandson of Dēvarāja.

1672 20 E.C. V, Cn, 273 Doḍḍadēva.

1672 21 E.C. IV. Hg. 57. Doḍḍadēva and his son Kanṭhīrava Narasa, December 12, 1672 A.D.

1672 22 E.C. III. Malavaḷḷi 63, Mysūru Dēvarāja Bhūpāla. *S'*. 1595 (?) *Parīdhāvi Kārtīka S'u 10.* (1672), *Paridhāvi Kārtīka S'u. 10.* October 21, Tuesday (?). *S'*. 1595, 1673 A.D. *Pramādīca*, November 9, Sunday (?)

1673 23 E.C. III. TN. 54, Chikkadēva ruling.

1675 24 E.C. XIV, My. 115. *S'*. 1595 (?) *Ānanda Mārgaśira Kṛ. 3* (*guru* ?) grant by Cikkadēvarāja, son of Doḍḍadēva and elder brother of Kanṭhīrava, on the annual ceremony of Doḍḍadēva. Grant written by Rāmāyaṇam Tirumalārya. Probably Thursday, November 25, 1675 A.D. (1674 *Ānanda*).

1676 25 E.C. IV. Cāmarājnagar 138. *S'*. 1598 *Nala Caitra Ba. 5*, Mysūru Dēvarāj's son Dēvarāja, March 24, 1676, Tuesday (?). (Probably Chikkadēvarāja).

1677 26 Haḷepura grant of Kanṭhīrava, son of Doḍḍadēvarāja, grandson of Dēvarāja, great-grandson of Cāmarāja. *S'*. 1599. *Pingala Caitra S'u. 9, Ravivara*, Sunday, April 1, 1677 A.D.

27 E.C. XIV. Gunḍlupet 104, Para-Vāsudēva *Utsava* image.

28 M. A. R. 1934, Gunḍlupet 105, S'rī Doḍḍaḍēvarāja Varada.

Other references are:

1. A manuscript of Ranna's *Ajītanātha Purāṇa* copied by Rāyasam Lakṣmipati for Cikkadēvarāja in *S'*. 1585. *S'ōbhakṛt* (1663 A.D. *K. K. Carite Vol. II.*)

2. Bhāṣkara's *Bēhāra Gaṇita* mentions Rangapura, the death of a Cāmarāja in *S'*. 1559 (1637 A.D.), a Narasa Bhūpa and also a Deparāja.

Kanṭhīrava, according to the present grants, seems to have issued in his own name upto 1677 A.D. without reference to the ruling king Cikkadēvarāja, his elder brother. There is nothing of historical interest in these grants, though they have been composed in fairly beautiful Samskṛt style.

I. Kanchana Halli Grant of Kanthirava Raja (II)

(Nāgari script and Samskṛit language)

Plate 1-B

1. S'ubhamasthu | Namastunga s'iras'cumbi candra-
2. cāmara cārave | Trailokyanagarārambha mū-
3. la stambhāya S'ambhavē 1 Agajānana padmārkam ga-
4. jānanam aharnis'am | anekadantam bhaktānāme-
5. kadantam upāsmahē | Harēr līlā Varāhasya
6. daṁṣṭrā daṇḍas sa pātuvah | Hēmādri kalas'ā yatra
7. dhātrī chatra s'riyam dadhau | Bhadrācaraṇa bhūpālāh
8. bhūyiṣṭhō bhuvi rājatē | Karṇāṭades'ah Kāvērī
9. pāna pūra prajāvalih | Bhōgīndra s'āyi Ran-
10. gendra bhūṣaṇam puṭa bhēdanam | Bhuvō'laṁkaraṇam
11. tatra S'rīrangapuranāmakam | Tatrāsti Dēva
12. rāṭ Kalā Devarāja mahīpatih | Pautrah S'rī
13. Devarājasya putrah Kaṇṭhīravō nṛpah | Pra-
14. tiṣthām prabalām yēna viprāh Vedāntapāragāh |
15. prāptāyat kāritiar yajñaih kalēh kārta yugi
16. sthitih | Divyām diganganāngānīvā nicō-
17. lī kṛta kīrtimān | lalanāloconānan-
18. -da kandāyita kalēvarah | Itihāsa ka-
19. thālāpa pēs'ala dvija sams'rayah | Hari bha-
20. kti sudhā sāra sampūrita manōrattah | Bi-
21. rudentembara gaṇḍa prajā (?) ssampanidhāna
22. parivārah | Vintāli kalpa s'ākhi vivi—

Plate II. A

23. dhāgama dars'i vatsalas' s'rīmān | Arirāja
24. kula dhvānta khaṇḍanē caṇḍa bhānunā | A-
25. khaṇḍita pratāpēnaḥbhāsayan maṇḍalam bhuvah |

26. Sāmanta rāja mauḷi srañmādhvika siktāñghri
27. pankajah | Vanhat (?) puṇḍarīkākṣa, cancalīkam
28. s'riyah patim | Kāṅkṣyādhika pradānaika rasi |
29. kān avalokayan | Ādeyām brāhmaṇebhyō |
30. hi dadat bahuvidham dhanam | Sō'yam rājanya
31. mūrdhanyah Kanṭhīrava mahīpatih | yētam
32. nagara vāstavyam Vēnkaṭādri tanūbhavam |
33. Ananta Sūri naptāram avalokya mahī
34. suram | Lakṣhmī Nārāyaṇaikānta bhakti sā—
35. ra mahodadhim | pulakāṅkita sarvāṅgam
36. puṇyair bhōgyatamam Harim | udyadānanda bāṣpām
37. bu kīrtayantam saha dvijiaih | Gādhā guṇā
38. valī syūta guṇa muktaphala ti(?) ·bhih | padma pra—
39. vāla mālyābhir arcayantam Harim sadā | Bha—
40. radvājānvayāmbodhi pūrṇa candram s'ucivra
41. tam | Āpastambokta kalōna (?) dharmācaraṇa
42. s'ālinam | dvitīyah Prahlādō Hari bhajna mā—
43. rgē'pirasa(?)kah | parabrahma dhānyē punarapara karṇō—

Plate II B

44. vitaraṇē | Vasiṣṭhasvācārē varaguṇagaṇē Dha—
45. rma tanayah | kimanyaññyātmēna hatas'araṇa Nā—
46. rāyaṇēti s'rutvā (?) janas'rutim cāpi vis'vasya (?) tū (?)
47. ruta mānasah | marvā (?) Nārāyaṇasyāmsam bhaktyā
48. bhāgavatākṛtim | mānyam s'rī Venkaṭēs'āryām
49. tatprīṇana parāyaṇah | citrāmbara dhana kṣētrā-
50. rāmai ranyais'ca pūjayan | atṛptyā punarapya-
51. smai grāmam sarva phalapradam | kadalī nārikelā
52. ḍhya pūgārāmōpa s'ōbhitam | phalitah prayataih s'ud- dhaih
53. pūrohita purōgamaih | sa hiraṇyapayōdhārā
54. pūrvakam dāttavān mudā | tasya Kancanahaḷḷyākhya
55. grāmasya phala bhūyasah | Kanṭhīrava mahī
56. pāla sammatyā s'āstra sammatam | s'āsanam
57. tāmra phalakē likhyatē dēs'abhāṣayā | Svasti
58. S'rī Vijayābhyudayā Sālivāhana S'aka varsham
59. ೧೫೯೨ sandu vartamānavāda Sādhāraṇa samva-
60. tsarada S'rāvaṇa Bahuḷa ೧೨ Mangaḷavāra puṇya

61. kāladalli S'rīmd rājādhirāja rājaparameṣva-
62. rarāda bhadrāsanādhīs'vararāda dēva brāhmaṇa pū-
63. jā dhurandhararāda Birudentembara gaṇḍa Dharaṇīva
64. -rāhādi divya birudānkitarāda S'rīrangapaṭṭaṇa
65. da simhāsanādhīs'vararāda Ātreya gōtrada
66. Ās'valāyana sūtrada Ṛuks'ākheya Dēvarāja Vaḍe—
67. yara pautrarāda Devarāja Vaḍeyara putrarāda Kan-

Plate IIIA

68. ṭhīrava mahīpālakaru s'rīmad Gōpālās'ramācā
69. rya kṛpālabdha parāvara tatva yadhyātmya dhyānarāda
70. Bhāradvājagōtrada Āpstambasūtrada yajus' s'ākhe
71. ya Anantanārāyaṇa pautrarāda Venkaṭādri putrarā-
72. da Venkaṭēs'ā Bhāgavatarige koṭṭa dānas'āsanada krama
73. ventendare Tirunārāyaṇayagāru Singarayangā-
74. ru ivara ikkartarinda krayavāgibanda Kannambāḍi
75. sthalakke saluva Kancanahaḷḷi yamba grāmavanu Lakṣmī
76. Nārāyaṇārpitavāgi nimage dhāreyaneredu koṭṭe vā
77. gi ī grāmada catuss'īme vivara Cōḷenahaḷḷi yalle
78. indam mūḍalu yaḍahaḷḷi yalle indam tenkalu Māragau—
79. ḍanahalli yalle indam paḍuvalu Kallūra yalle indam baḍaga
80. lu intī catussīme voḷagāda Kancanahaḷḷigrama ○
81. Āgrāmada yalle voḷaguḷḷa nidhinikṣēpa jala pāṣāṇa
82. ādra (? akṣīṇā) āgāmi siddha sādhyangaḷu yamba aṣṭa-bhōga
83. tējasvāmyagaḷu nimage saluvavu ī grāmavu nīvu mā
84. ḍuva vyavahāra catuṣṭakku saluvadu ī grāmavu ni-
85. mma putra pautra pārampareyāgi ācandrārkasthāyiga
86. ḷāgi sarvamānyavāgi sukhadinda anubhavisi koṇ
87. ḍu baraluḷḷavaru yandu Ātreya gōtrada Ās'vala-
88. yana sūtrada Ṛks'ākheya Mysūra Devarāja Vaḍē-
89. yara pautrarāda Devarāja Vaḍeyara putrarāda
90. Kanṭhīrava mahīpālakaru Bhāradvāja gō-
91. trada Āpastamba sūtrada yajus's'ākheya Anan—
92. tanārāyaṇa pautrarāda Venkaṭādri putra rā

Plate III B

93. da Venkaṭēs'ā Bhāgavatarige sahiraṇyōda
94. ka dāna dhārā pūrvakavāgi dhāreyaneradu
95. koṭṭa dānas'āsana | dānapālanayōr madhyē
96. dānācchrēyōnupālanam | dānātsvargamavāpnō
97. ti pālanādacyutam padam | svadattām parada-
98. ttāmvā yōharēta vasundharām | ṣaṣṭirvarṣa
99. sahasrāṇi viṣṭāyām jāyatē krimi || svadattāddvigu
100. ṇam puṇyam paradattānupālanam | paradattāpa
101. hāreṇa svadattam niṣphalam bhavet | S'rī S'rī S'rī

S'rī Kanṭhīrava Rāju,
(*in Kannaḍa characters.*)

II. Halepura grant of Kanthirava Raja (II)

(Nāgari characters Samskṛt and Kannaḍa languages)

Plate I B.

1. S'ubhamastu | Namastunga s'iras'cumbi candra cāmara cāravē | Trailo-|
2. kyanagarārambha mūlastambhāya S'ambhavē | Harer-līlā Varāhasya
3. daṁṣṭrā daṇḍas sa pātuvah | Hemādrikalas'ā yatra dhātrī chatra s'ri
4. yam dadhau | Agajānana padmārkam gajānanamahar-nis'am | anē
5. kadantam bhaktānāmēkadantamupāsmahē | Jayati jagatī s'a
6. s'vaddakṣiṇasyām Sumērōh sakalajana vilāsāvāsa Kar-
7. nāṭadēs'ah | pravahati ca Kavērasyātmajā yatra pārs'va dvaya
8. kalitavana s'rīrhīrahārāyitōrvīh | Tatrāstē nagarī Kaver-
9. ra tanayā kallola līlāvṛtā S'rīrangēs'a purīti vis'ruta
10. tarā tadbhadra pīthādhipah | Urvīm sāgaramēkhalām svabalatō
11. nis'sēṣitārih pradhām viprēbhyah pratipādayan vijayatē Kanṭhī.
12. ravendrō nṛpah | Tasyājñā madhigatya tatkṛta mahī-dānaprasi-

13. ddhyai ciram | paṭṭē tāmramayē vidhātumucitam dātuh svahastākṣa-
14. raih | padyairadya karōmi s'āsana maham s'āstrōditam prakriyām
15. krōḍīkṛtya tadanvayōru carita prajñāpanā pūrvakam | Āsī
16. d Atrir Anantas'āyi bhagvan nābhi sarojodarādā virbhūta
17. caturmukhasya jagath svasṭas (?) tanūjah purā | Tannē-trāmburu—
18. hādajāyata satah S'itams'urāhlāditās'ēṣa kṣmāvalayah
19. sudhāmayatanuh bhāsvatkalas'candramāh | Tadvams'ē
20. sa sama jani nṛpatih kṣīravārdhāvivēnduh Kāveryātdakṣi
21. ṇasyām sthita Mahiṣapurīnāyakah sāhasānkah | sarvaj-ñah
22. satyasandhah satata vitaraṇō prīṇitādhī pravīṇāh dṛpta
23. pratyarthi pṛthvī patidalana vidhau Cāmarāja kṣitindrah | Tasyā
24. sīttanayah prabhūtavinayō vikhyāta vidvan nayah | Sau-janyē'pra
25. timah kalāsukus'alah kalpadrumassūriṣu | Kāmōvāmadr
26. s'ām dāyā kulagṛham dākṣiṇyakēḷīgṛham | S'rīmad Dēva ma-

Plate IIA.

27. hīpatih kulapatih Karnāṭabhūmījbhujah | Tatassama-bhavat s'rī su
28. tah prathitapuṇya puñjōnnatah | purātana nṛpādhikah sakalasam
29. padām sādhakah | sadā Hariparāyaṇōhṛdiniviṣṭa Nārā-yaṇah |
30. kṛpālakuḷanāyakō jagati Dēvabhūpālakah | Puṇyam S'ri Dēva
31. rāja kṣitiramaṇamaṇēh pūrṇa candrāmṛtāmbu gambhīrā-mbodhēr bu
32. dhānāmiha sukṛtapariṇatir vallabhōrājalakṣmyāh | saubhā
33. gyam sadguṇānāmanavadhi karuṇāpūra vārānnidānam dāna-
34. statraika niṣṭhā jagati vijayatē Rāja Kaṇthīravēndrah | yasyā
35. pāngatarangite suragavī vaktrēca vāgvaikharī citte Viṣṇupa

36. dāravinda rasikō bhaktir dharitribhujē | s'āstrēpaṇitalē sa
37. dā vitaraṇas'rīpādapadmē'nisam rājñām mauḷimaṇē prabudha
38. grhē sampattrilōkyām yas'ah | Yasyōddaṇḍa bhujāhi-bhīmara
39. sanākāram kṛpāṇīm raṇē vīrasvargamupēyusas tridiva
40. nih srēṇīmvidur vairiṇah | s'rnigraikarasāstu tatkarasa
41. rōjāsakta bhṛngānganā s'reṇīm dōstva jayas'riyassulali
42. tām veṇīm bahujñā viduh | Yasya pracaḍṇa bhujadaṇḍa-bhujanga
43. sangād gurviṇya sāvasilatā bhujagī raṇōrvīm | sadyōṇikṛ.
44. tta karikumbha galatsarakta muktāphalādagaṇitāṇḍa gaṇā
45. nyprasūtē | yat karavāla krīḍāprārambhē bhūtyā tantri-dhāri
46. ṇām nikurumbē | ravibimbē Rambhādhara bimbakēvi lambēna |
47. Birudentembara gaṇḍah parabala ghana timira caṇḍa mārtaṇḍah
48. arikadalī vētaṇḍah pariṇata ripu s'arabha Gaṇḍa Bhēruṇ-dah
49. Raṇaviṣayē niśśankah surucira taruṇī navīna mīnāṁ
50. kah | nirasita bhuvanātankō guru tara Dharaṇī Varāha-biruh
51. dānkah | Rājādhirājastējasvī S'rī Rājaparamēs'varah dusta
52. Vīrapratāpabirudō vārdhilanghita s'āsanah | Sōyam duṣṭa

Plate II-B.

53. tindrāt samaranaramakhē sañjñapan kāns'cidanyān kārāgā
54. rē ṣu baddhvā tadavanimakhilām bhūsurēbhyah surē bhyah da
55. ttvā'pyatuṣyat svaviṣayavilasad grāmaratnānyajasram nāmnā sva-
56. syāgrahārān racayati sukṛtītes'ya-mittham vitanvan | S'ri

57. S'ālivāhana s'akē gata vatsarēsu ratna graha smara s'arēndu su |
58. vartamānē S'rī Pingalakhya vara vatsarē Caitramāsē pakṣē site ra
59. -vidinē ca tithou navamyām | pratyādranga purīnātha-sannidhau s'rē yā-
60. sānnidhau | bhūmipradāna rasikah puṇyakālē guṇōttarē | kadalī
61. nārikēlāḍhyam pūgī vanavirājitam | ākaram sarva sasyānam
62. grāmam sarvaphalapradam | Haḷēpurētīdam pūrvam pratināma sa
63. manvitam | Kaṇṭhīravapurābhikhyam sarvasasya pradā-yakam || Bhara-
64. dvājābdhicandrāya Āpastambāya Yājuṣē | sadānnadānā sa
65. ktāya sarvas'āstrārtha vēdinē | Anantanārāyaṇa pautra-kāya
66. S'rī Venkaṭēs'asya suputrakāya S'rī Venkaṭēs'āhvaya Vai
67. ṣṇavāya s'rīvāgminē Bhāgavatōttamāya | sahiraṇyapayō
68. dhārāpūrvakam dattavānmudā | grāmasyāsyacatussī-mānilikhya
69. tē dēs'abhāsayā | Svasti S'rī Vijayābhyudaya S'ālivāhanā sa
70. ka varsa ೧೫೯ sanda vartamānavāda Pingaḷa samvats-ra cai
71. tra s'uddha navami ravivāradalli S'rīmad rājādhirājā rāja pa
72. ramēs'vara rāda S'ri Vīrapratāpa Maisūra Ātreyagōtrada Ā-
73. s'valāyana sūtraḍa Ṛks'ākheya Dēparājoḍeyara pautrarā
74. da Doḍḍadevarāja Voḍeyara putrarāda Kaṇthīrava bhūpālaka
75. ru nimage vikramārjitavāgibanda Hōsalanāda Kottāgā
76. gālakke saluva Haḷepuravemba gramakke Pratināma-dhēyavāda
77. Kaṇṭḥīravapuravanu Bhārādvājagōtrada Āpastambasū-trada
78. Yajus' s'ākheya Anantanārāyaṇa Bhāgavatara pautrarāda

Plate III-A

79. Venkaṭēs'a Bhāgavatarige putrarāda Venkaṭa Bhāgavata-rige sahi
80. raṇyōdakadānal dhārāpūrvakavāgi kotta grāmada yalle
81. kallu catussīme vivara | Īs'ānyadalli Nāgenahaḷḷige paḍu
82. valu Haḷēpuradinda Paṭṭaṇake hōguvadārige baḍaga cāriya
83. -lli honnarige baḍagaṇa tiṭṭenamēle gandhadamarada keḷa-
84. -ge neṭṭakallu ○ daṇḍanakaṭṭege baḍagala basariya marake
85. paḍuva cāriyalli naṭṭakallu ○ tarī kallinda Paṭṭaṇakke hō
86. guva dārige baḍagalu karīkallugaḷge paḍuva cāriyalli
87. neṭṭakallu ○ tōtada ṭenka cārimūleyalli naṭṭa mōlē mēṭē
88. kallu ○ Ūrige ṭenka cāriyalli Tippūra mūleli doḍḍa teva
89. rinamēla na(?)llīmarakke paḍuvalu neṭṭakallu ○ Ūrige-paṭu
90. valāgi Hosapurakke mūḍalāgi kāḍina kaṭṭege baḍa
91. galu Basavappanakaṭṭe tenka cāriyalli banḍigad mara
92. da keḷage neṭṭakallu ○ Varuṇana mūlōli Mādanahaḷli
93. tiṭṭēna(?)mēle cu(?)jjalamarada keḷage neṭṭakallu ○ Ūri
94. ge baḍaga cāriyalli kempyoḍeyara kaṭṭe hollada basa-
95. rīmarada pa ḍuvalalli neṭṭakallu ○ Ūrige baḍga cāri tiṭṭe
96. mallikāpriya gaṭṭege paḍuva cāri Mādunahaḷḷige tenka
97. lāgi gandhada marada keḷage neṭṭakallu ○ intī catus
98. sīmevolaguḷḷa nidhinikṣēpa jalapās'āṇā akṣiṇa
99. āgāmi siddha sādhyagaḷemba aṣṭabhōga tēja svā
100. myangaḷu mahārāma kṣētra gadde beddalu toṭa tudi
101. ke kāḍārambha nīrārambha aṇe accukaṭṭe honge
102. haṇa mane baṇa dīvalige kānike maduve kā-

Plate III-B

103. nike kānikē kaḍḍāya terige hātikātā bāḍige mē
104. le sunka madive sunka(?)mārida sunka hāra (sthira ?)
105. gaṇa sunka magga sunka ālemane(?)gāra terige sunka
106. sthirādāya carādāya tṛṇakāṣṭha muntādava(?)ādhi kra

107. ya dāna parivartanegaḷemba vyavahāra catustayakku ni
108. mage saluvadu yendu | Ātrēya gōtrada Ās'valāyana
109. sūtrada Ṛks'ākheya Dēparāja Voḍeyara pautrāda Doḍḍa
110. Devarāja Voḍeyara putrarāda Kanṭhīrava nṛpālakaru Bhā
111. -radvāja gōtrada Āpasthamba sūtrada yajus' s'ākheya Anan
112. tanārāyaṇa Bhāgavatara pautrarāda Venkaṭabhāgavatara
113. putrarāda Venkaṭa Bhāgavatarige sahiranyōdaka dāna
114. dhārāpūrvaka vāgi dhāreyaneradu koṭṭevāgi nīvu
115. nimma putra pautra pāramparevāgi ācandrārkasthāiga
116. ḷāgi sukhadim anubhavisikoṇḍu baruvirīyandu ko
117. ṭṭa dānas'āsana | Yēkaiva bhaginī lokē sarvēṣāmēva bhūbhujām
118. na bhōjyā nakaragrāhyā vipradattāvasundharā | svadattā-ddviguṇam
119. puṇyam paradattānupālanam | paradattāpahāreṇa svadat tam niṣpha
120. lam bhavēt Dānapālanayōr madhyē dānāechrēyōnu pālanam | Dā
121. nātsvargamavāpnōti pālanādacyutam padam | S'rī S'ri S'rī |

PARGAON PLATES OF KALACHURI RATNADEVA II

By K. D. Swaminathan, M.A.

This is a set of two oblong copper plates, unearthed by Shri Ledgo, son of Lukhan Dhimar of Pargaon, in the Balōda Bazar Tahsil of the Raipur District, Madhya Pradesh, on a road-side place while erecting a house in the village of Lawan Bund near Pargaon. The plates were secured through the Malguzar of the Village Shri Seth Chandinal Virachand and the Deputy Commissioner of Raipur, for study, in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.

The plates measure 12.2 inches by 7.7 inches each and have slightly raised rims all along their perimetters, obviously to protect the writing. They are held together by a ring, which passes through two holes in the two plates, the first plate having the hole at the bottom centre and the second at the top centre. The ring bears a detachable seal; the seal is in the form of a half expanded lotus within which is carved the emblem of Gajalakṣhmī, with *Rājā S'rīmad-Ratnadēvaḥ*, engraved below it. Both the plates are incised on the inner sides only, with fifteen lines of writing on each plate. The plates together with the ring and seal weigh 310½ *tolas*, while the ring weighs 21 *tolas* and the detachable seal 38 *tolas*.

The characters of the present record are in Nāgarī and are similar to those employed in the Sarkhō plates[1] and the Seorināra-yan plates[2] of the same king Ratnadēva II. The language of the inscription is Saṁskṛit. Except for the beginning words, which contain the salutation to Brahman and the concluding portion recording the date, the entire inscription is in verse. There are twenty one verses in all, including the imprecatory portion and all

1. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII. pp. 159 ff and plates.
2. *I.H.Q.* Vol. IV. pp. 31 ff and plates.

of them are numbered. *Daṇḍas* are also marked at the halves and ends of all the verses. Among the orthographical peculiarities, we may note the following :

(i) The use of *v* for indicating *b* in all cases.

(ii) The use of palatal *s* to denote the sibilant *s'* and vice versa, as in 'Sasvat-satām̐' (line 7), 'Saurya' (line 8), 'Satrūn' (line 14), 'Pasyatkānta' (line 17), 'Siro' (line 18), 'Sarmma' (line 21), 'Suciḥ' (line 22), 'Saṁkhaṁ' and 'Gajāsva' (line 25), 'Āsvina' and 'Sudi' (line 30).

(iii) The medial *e* is indicated in some cases by priṣṭamātras *e.g.* 'tēṣām' (line 8), 'Yēnaṁ' and 'vikramēṇa' (line 13), 'S'urasyēva' and 'Nṛpas'rē' (line 14), 'dēvō' and 'dēvī' (line 15), 'sēvaḥ' 'sēvā' and 'dēvaḥ' (line 19), 'Sahadēvaḥ' (line 20), 'Nikētanam' (line 21), Rāhugraste (line 22), 'Sasye' (line 27), 'harēta' (line 29), 'Saṁvatsarē' and 'Budhē' (line 30). In all the other cases the sign is indicated by a S'īrōmātrās, [*e.g.* 'Brahmaṇe' (line 1) ; 'Yadētadagrē' (line 2), etc.].

(iv) Similarly the medial *ō* sign is indicated both by S'īrōmātrās, [*e.g.* 'Putrō' (line 3), 'Saṁtōshitēs'am' and 'dō' (line 4), 'yō' (line 5) and 'Ripumanō' (line 6), etc.] and by priṣṭamātras in other cases.

(v) Medial *au* is indicated by two S'īrōmatrās only in one case, *i.e.* 'San' (line 23).

(vi) The mistake in engraving *pa* for *ba* in the expression 'pabhuva' (line 15) and

(vii) The consonant preceding *r* is often doubled [*e.g.* 'Nirgguṇam' (line 1), 'Dōrddaṇḍa' (line 4), etc.].

The use of the *avagraha* wherever necessary is also noteworthy.

The record is dated in the Kalachuri Saṁvat year 885, Ās'vina S'u di 1, Wednesday (line 30) five years after the Sarkhō plates.

Assuming that the Kalachuri era started in 247-48 A.C the said date corresponds to 24th September 1131 A. C.[3] The object of the inscription is to register the royal grant of the village called Vōḍalā, in Kōsala, to a Brāhmaṇa named Padmanābha, belonging to the Bhārgava *Gōtra*, son of Haris'arma on the occasion of a solar eclipse.

Very few inscriptions of Ratnadēva II have hitherto been discovered, except for two copper plates, *i.e.* the Seorinārayan plates dated year 878 and the Sarkhō Plates dated year 880 and two stone inscriptions from Akāltāra.[4] The present set is yet another copper plate charter of Ratnadēva II. There is nothing new of historical importance in the record. The first eleven verses giving the genealogy of the Kalachuri family down to Ratnadēva II are identical with those in the Sarkhō plates.[5] The record contains only a conventional praise of the princes of the family and nothing is said about the achievements and exploits of the donor himself or his ancestors. The only factor of considerable importance is that the charter furnishes us with the latest known date for him, *i.e.* year 885 and extends his reign by a period of five more years. As the latest known date for his predecessor Jājalladēva I is the Kalachurī year 866[6] and the earlier date for his successor Pṛthvidēva II is Kalachurī year 890,[7] we can tenatively fix the regnal period of Ratnadēva II as Kalachuri year 867 to Kalachuri year 889 (1115-1137 A. C.).

A few problems connected with the reign of Ratnadēva II, may now be discussed. It is strange that none of the inscriptions of the king refer to his conquest over Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga

3. The week day was Thursday and not Wednesday as cited in the record.

4. Bhandarkar: *List of Inscriptions from Northern India*. Nos. 1584 and 1585. Incidentally it may be noted that Dr. Ray in his Dynastic History of Northern India, Vol. II, p. 809, says that "no grant of this king has been discovered."

5. The style and nature of the verses giving the genealogy in the Seorinārayan Plates (*I. H. Q.* Vol. IV, p. 34 ff) are entirely different.

6. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. I. p. 32.

7. *Ibid*: Vol. XXVIII. p. 146 ff.

(1078-1135 A. C.) claimed in the Kōni inscription of his immediate successor Pṛthvidēva II,[8] the Malhār stone inscription of Jājalladēva II,[9] the Kharod inscription of Ratnadēva III,[10] and in the Biḷaigarh plates of Pratāpamalla.[11] The present record does not

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8. *Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVII. p. 281, text line 7.
9. *Ibid*: Vol. I. p. 40, text lines 4-5.
10. *Ibid* : Vol. XXI, p. 163, text line 7.
11. *Ep. Ind.* Vol XXIX, p 102, text line 13. Here a certain Gōkarṇa is said to have been defeated by Ratnadēva. Prof. Mirashi takes this Gōkarṇa to be identical with Jaḍēs'vara, son of Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXII. p 162, fn. 1), while Mr. M. Venkataramayya takes him to be the same as Gōkarṇa, a Telugu Cōḍa prince of Vardhamānapura, who figures in a record from Ēlēs'varam (*Ep. Ind.* Vol. XXVIII, p. 152). Both the identifications do not seem to be feasible. The date cited by the Ēlēs'varam record (Bharati, Vol. V. p. 147) is not A. C. 1126-27 as pointed out by Mr Venkataramayya but Cāḷukya Vikrama year 33, Plava, Āṣādha s'u 11. He has obviously taken the cyclic year Plava to be a mistake for Plavanga and equated the date. Assuming the Cāḷukya Vikrama year cited in the record to be wrong and taking into consideration the cyclic year Plava, the said date would correspond to June 28, 1121 A.C. Further he takes the Gōkarṇa figuring in the Ēlēs'varam record to be the same as the one, who is referred to in the Anamkoṇḍa inscription of Kākatiya Prātaparudra and adds that Gōkarṇa was murdered by his brother Bhīma. It is nowhere stated in the Anamkoṇḍa inscription (*Ind. Ant.* Vol. XI. p 13) that Gōkarṇa was Bhīma's brother. Hence the supposition that Gōkarṇa, whom Ratnadēva is said to have defeated, is the same as the Gōkarṇas figuring in the Ēlēs'varam and Anamkoṇḍa inscriptions is unwarranted. Mr. Venkataramayya's genealogy of the family (*Ep. Ind.* XXVII. p. 152 fn 3) of Gōkarṇa upto Tāṇḍa is also faulty. Out of the four inscriptions cited by him to substantiate his gesture only one record from Pānugallu (Telengana Inscriptions, Vol. I. Misc, Ins. No. 18) furnishes the following genealogy:

Sōmarāja (Married Beḍagā)
|
Mēḷambika (daughter)
|
Udayāditya — Bhīma — Gōkarṇa
Bhīma
|
Tāṇḍa

The inscription is dated S'aka 1046 (in chronogram) (A. C. 1124). The Nelakoṇḍapalli inscription (dated S'aka 1047 Telengana Inscriptions, Vol I. Misc. Ins. No. 2) does not however mention any member of the family. Another undated record from Pānugallu (Telengāna Inscriptions, Vol I. Misc. Ins.

describe Ratnadēva with high sounding titles. He is merely described as '*Sakala-kōsala maṇḍana-S'rīḥ*' (the Lord of the whole of Kōsala). The absence of the mention of his victory over the mighty Anantavarman Cōḍagaṅga is very curious. The date and circumstances leading to the victory cannot, however, be determined. If at all the claims of victory in the later records of the family are genuine, the event must have taken place after Kalachuri Saṁvat 885 (A.C. 1132) and before Kalachuri Saṁvat 890 (A. C. 1137). Even then it is not possible to explain why the exploit is not recorded in the Daikoni Plates of his immediate successor Pṛthvidēva II, dated Kalachuri Saṁvat 890.[12] It would be safer not to claim the victory for Ratnadēva, until we get more substantial and tangible evidence.

It may further be noted that the Akaltāra inscription of Ratnadēva II, describing the conquests of Vallabha, a general of Ratnadēva, as having overrun the Ladhā country and as having defeated the king of Gauḍa, does not mention the event.[13]

Reverting to the present inscription, the donee Padmanābha belonged to a learned and respectable Brāhmaṇa family. His father was Haris'arma, who was well versed in *srutis*, *smṛtis* and the *purāṇas*. Haris'arma, is described as the descendant of Sahadēva, who was an expert in the performance of all sacrifices. They all belonged to the Bhārgava *Gōtra* and Jamadagnya *panca pravara*. Sahadēva is also stated to have hailed from Gōri *grāma*.

No. 5) mentions a certain Bhimarāja and his son Tāṇḍa. The Cāḷukya (Telengana Insc. Vol I. Cāḷukya Ins. No. 23) inscription Kolanupāka cited by Mr. Venkataramayya is dated Cāḷukya Vikrama year 22 (A. C. 1098) and mentions only a certain Sōmarasa and a Gōkarṇa. It is rather difficult to understand why Mr. Venkataramayya takes these different persons to belong to he same stock. Except the similarity in names there is no other ground to connect the different personages, referred to in the different records.

12. *Ep. Ind.* Vol.XXVII.p. 146 ff.

13. Hiralal: *Inscriptions in the Central Provinces and Berar*: (Second Edition) p. 121. No. 202.

Among the geographical names occurring in the inscription Gōri *grāma* may be identified with the village Gōri.[14]

I am not able to identify the gift village Vōḍalā.

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14. See Survey Sheet No. 64 N/4 & 8, Lat. 22°4', Long. 83°25'.

TEXT[15]

[Metres. *Vv.* 1,9,13,14,16 to 21; *Anuṣṭubh*; *Vv.* 2 and 6, *Upajāti*; *V.3* Sraghdharā; *Vv.* 4 and 10 *Sārdūlavikrīḍitā*; *Vv.* 5,7,8 and 11 *Vasantatilakā*; *V.* 12 *Āryā*; and *V.* 15 *S'ālinī*;].

1. सिद्धिं ।[16] ओंनमो व्र(ब्र)ह्मणे ॥ निर्ग्गुणं व्यापकं नित्यं शिवं परमकारणम् । भावग्राह्यं परंज्योति

2. स्तस्मैसद्र(द्ब्र)ह्मणे नमः ॥ १ ॥ यदेतदग्रेसरमंम्व[17](म्ब)रस्य ज्योतिः सपूषा पुरुषः पुराणः

3. [18]अथास्यपुत्रोमनुरादिराजस्तदन्वयेऽभूद्भुविकार्त्तवीर्यः ॥२॥ देवः श्री कार्त्तवीर्यः क्षितिप

4. तिरभवद्भूषणं भूतधात्र्याहेलोत्क्षिप्ताद्रिविभ्यत्तुहिनगिरि सुतास्ले (श्ले)षसंनो(तो)षितेशम् । दोर्द्दंडा

5. काण्डसेनु(तु) प्रतिगमितमहावारिरेवा प्रवाहव्याधूतत्र्यक्ष पूजा गुरुजनितरुषं रावणं यो व (ब)

6. वं(बं)ध ॥ ३ ॥ तद्वंशप्रभवा[ः]नरेंद्रपतयः ख्याताः क्षितौ हैहयास्तेषामन्वयभूषणं रिपुमनो विन्य

7. स्ततापानलः । धर्मध्यानधनानुसंचितयशाः स(श) स्व(श्व) त्सतां सौख्यकृत्प्रेयान्सर्व्वगुणान्वितः समभ[19]

8. वछीमानसौ कोक्कलः ॥ ४ ॥ अष्टादशारिकरिकुम्भ विभंग सिंहाः पुत्राप(ब)भूवुरतिसौ(शौ)र्यपरा

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15. From impressions stored in the Office of the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund.
16. Expressed by a symbol.
17. The *anusvāra* is superfluous.
18. This *daṇḍa* should be after पुराणः in line 2.
19. Read 'सर्वगुणान्वितस्समभवत्' (व below)

9. श्चतस्य। तत्रायजोनृपवरस्त्रिपुरीश आशी(सी)त्पार्श्वे च मंडलपतीन् सचकारव(ब)न्धून् ॥ ५ ॥ तेषाम

10. [20]नूजस्य कलिंगराजः प्रतापवह्निक्षापितारिराजः। जातो ऽन्वये द्विष्टरिपुप्रवीरः प्रियाननांभोरुह[21]

11. पार्व्वणेंदुः ॥ ६ ॥ तस्मादपिप्रततनिर्म्मल कीर्त्तिकांतोजातः सुतः[22] कमलराज इति प्रसिद्धः। यस्य

12. प्रतापतरणावुदिते रजन्यां जातानि पंकजवनानि विकास भांजि ॥ ७ ॥ तेनाथ चन्द्रवदनोऽजनि रत्न

13. राजो विस्वो(श्वो)पकारकरुणार्ज्जितपुण्यभारः। येनं[23] स्व वा(बा)हु युगनिर्म्मितविक्रमेणनीतं यशस्त्रिभुवने

14. विनिहत्य स(श)त्रून् ॥ ८ ॥ नोम(न)ल्लाख्या प्रियातस्य शूरस्येवहि शूरता। तयोः सुतोनृपश्रे

15. ष्ठः पृथ्वीदेवो प(ब)भूवह ॥ ९ ॥ पृथ्वीदेव समुद्भवः समभवद्राजल्लदेवीस्सुतः[24] शूरः स

SECOND PLATE

16. ज्जनवांच्छितार्थ फलदः कल्पद्रुमः श्रीफलः। सर्व्वेषामुचि तोऽर्ज्जनेसुमनसां तीक्ष्ण

17. द्विषत्कंटकः पस्य(श्य)त्कान्तरांगनांगमदनो जा जल्ल देवोनृपः ॥ १० ॥ तस्यात्मजः

18. सकलकोसल मंडनश्रीः श्रीमान् समाहृतसमस्तनराधिपश्रीः। सर्व्वक्षितीश्वर सि(शि)रोविहि

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20. The vowel of नू is lengthened for the sake of metre.
21. Read प्रियाननाम्भोरुह
22. Read जातस्सुतः
23. The *anusvāra* is superfluous.
24. Read देवीसुतः

19. तांह्रिसेवः सेवाभृतां निधि[25]रसौ भुविरत्नदेवः ॥ ११ ॥
भार्णावगोत्रो भार्ग्गवच्यवनाप्नवानौ

20. र्व्वजामदग्न्य पं चप्रवरो गोरिग्रामविनिर्ग्गतो विप्रो प(ब)भूव
सहदेवः ॥ १२ ॥ जन्मभूर्य ज्ञ(ज्ञ) विद्या

21. नामाचारस्य निकेतनम् । श्रुतिस्मृतिपुराणज्ञो(ज्ञो)
हरिस(श)र्म्मार्ऽभक्ततः ॥ १३ ॥ वेदवेदाङ्गवित्सा

22. ग्निः सदाचाररतः सु(शु)चिः । तनयः पद्मनाभोऽस्य
पद्मनाभ इवाभवत् ॥ १४ ॥ राहुग्रस्तेकार्ति

23. केमासिं भानौनित्यं धर्म्मभिमतिरसौ रत्नदेवो नरेंद्रः ।
एनं ग्रामं कोसले वोडलाख्यं भक्त्या प्रा

24. दात्पद्मनाभायतस्मै ॥ १५ ॥ कालान्तरेपि यःकश्चिन्नृपोऽ[26]
मात्योऽथवाभवेत् । तैरप्ययं धर्म(र्म्म)

25. : पालनीयः प्रयत्नतः ॥ १६ ॥ सं(शं)स्वं भद्रासनं च्छत्रं
गजास्व(श्व) नरवाहनम् । भूमिदानस्य चिह्नानि फ

26. लं स्वर्ग्गः पुरन्दर ॥ १७ ॥ व(ब)हुभिर्व्वसुधाभुक्ता
राजभिः सगरादिभिः । यस्य यस्य यदाभूमिस्तस्य

27. तस्य तदाफलम् ॥ १८ ॥ यथाप्सुपतितं शक्रतैलविं(बिं)
दुर्व्विसर्प्यति । एवं भूमिकृतं दानं सस्ये सस्ये

28. प्ररोहति ॥ १९ ॥ भूमिं यः प्रतिगृह्ना(ह्य)ति यस्तुभूमिं
प्रयच्छति उभौ तौ पुण्यकर्माणौ नियातौ स्व

29. र्ग्गगामिनौ ॥ २० ॥ स्वदत्तां परदत्तां वा(म्वा)यो[27] हरेतवसुं
धराम् । सविष्ठायां कृमिर्भूत्वा पितृभिः सहमज्ज

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25. This letter is engraved like वि

26. The correct reading is नृपामात्यो and the *avagraha* sign is superfluous.

27. This letter is not fully engraved.

30. ति ॥ २१ ॥ कलचुरिसंवत्सरे ८८५ आस्वि(श्वि) नसुदि १
वु(बु)धे ॥ मङ्गलं महाश्रीः ॥

BURHIKHAR BRAHMI INSCRIPTION *

DR. D.C.SIRCAR,M.A.Ph.D.

BURHIKHAR is a small hamlet adjacent to the famous village of Malhār in the Bilāspur District of Madhya Pradesh. In the following lines I propose to edit a small Brāhmī inscription which was examined by me sometime ago on a stone image that is being worshipped at Buṛhīkhār under the name of Caturbhujī Bhagavān.

The story of my visit to Bilāspur in search of inscriptions about the end of the year 1950 may be told under the heading " An Epigraphist's Disappointment " and is likely to be interesting to students of Indian epigraphy. Early in that year while I was on a short visit to Calcutta, I met my old teacher, Professor H. C. Raychaudhuri, who kindly showed me the eye-copy of a Brāhmī inscription in one line, which he had received from Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose of the Calcutta University. Unfortunately it was impossible to read anything from the eye-copy and I was eager to examine the original inscription. Accordingly, after returning to Ootacamund, I wrote to Professor Bose who kindly gave me all necessary information regarding the findspot of the record. I was told that he had noticed it on an image in the village of Buṛhīkhār in the Bilāspur District. In the meantime, the Director General of Archæology in India received a letter from Sri Ram Kishore Pandey, Advocate of Bilāspur, reporting the discovery of a new stone inscription in the village of Nāgpurā in the same district. Under the circumstances, I put Bilāspur on my next tour programme not without considerable hope. But, long before setting out on tour in November, I got the advocate's report regarding the Nāgpurā inscription verified by the Deputy Commissioner of Bilāspur. The officer informed me that two pieces of stone with inscriptions on them, which had been discovered at Nāgpurā, were then lying in the compound of the house of the Malguzar of that village.

* Paper submitted to the Waltair Session of the Indian History Congress, December, 1953.

I reached Bilāspur on the 23rd of December 1950 and arranged for a visit to Nāgpurā on the 24th and to Buṛhikāhr on the 25th. Accompanied by a local enthusiast named Pyarelal Gupta, I visited Nāgpurā and examined the only piece of stone lying in the compound of the Malguzar's house. To my disappointment, it was found on examination that the stone had a decorative motif but no inscription at all. Next day, accompanied by Pyarelal Gupta and R. Y. Rajimwale, Naib Tahsildar of Bilāspur, I visited Buṛhīkhār and Malhār where two local enthusiasts named Cheddilal Pandey and Manrakhanlal Pandey kindly showed me the antiquities. I was glad to find that the Buṛhīkhār image inscription, unlike the so-called inscription or inscriptions at Nāgpurā, was not the creation of anybody's imagination. Unfortunately, however, the image was covered with a thick coating of white paint which filled in much of the fairly deep incision of the inscription rendering it almost undecipherable. A few impressions were taken and I could read on them only the letters *Kārita ti* at the end of the single line record. At first I was doubtful whether it would ever be possible to decipher the inscription satisfactorily. The visit to Bilāspur therefore appeared to me to be absolutely fruitless. Fortunately, repeated attempts to read the epigraph later yielded a fairly satisfactory result.

I was told that the image of the so-called Caturbhujī Bhagavān was formerly not an object of special veneration in the locality. Of late a *sādhu* came to the village and his attention was attracted by the neglected image. It was this *sādhu* who was responsible for raising a thatched shelter over the image and painting it with the white coating referred to above. He has also instituted a sort of regular worship of the image.

The Caturbhuji Bhagavān, as the name would suggest, is a male figure with four arms. It is about two and a half feet in height ; but its feet are built into the floor apparently because the lower part of the image was broken. The figure holds the *cakra* (discus) in the upper left hand and the top of a big *gadā* (mace) by the upper right, while the palms of the lower two hands are folded in the *añjali* pose. The *gadā* is a rather long flat staff and stands under the right arm of the image. He wears a *karaṇḍamukuta*

(a particular kind of conical crown), usually found on the heads of subordinate deities. There is a globular object below the ears probably representing *kuṇḍalas* or curled hair loops. The inscription in question is engraved in one line on the flat shaft of the *gadā*. The line begins in the upper part of the *gadā* and comes downwards.

The characters of the inscription are Brāhmī. They resemble the alphabet of the Nānāghāṭ cave inscriptions [1] but may be slightly later in date. The letter *r* is of the straight and not of the older corkscrew type. *D* has the cursive form, occasionally found in the Nānāghāṭ and some other early inscriptions side by side with the unmodified older form. The downward projection of the left member of *bh* is shorter than in the Nānāghāt alphabet and seems to suggest a little later date. *Y* is usually of the Indian plough type ; but, in one case, the straight upper stroke joins the lower curve not in the middle, as is usual but about its right end. *Y* with a slanting stroke like this is only rarely found in inscriptions and coin legends.[2] The epigraph may be palæographically assigned to a date about the close of the First Century B. C.

The language of the inscription is Prākṛit. Interesting from the orthographical point of view is the *ya-s'ruti* in the names *Payāvati* for *Prājāvathī* and *Bhāradāyi* for *Bhāradvājī*. But there is no case in which a surd has been modified to a sonant.

The object of the inscription was to record the fact that the image on which it is engraved was the gift of a lady named Prajāvatī and that it was caused to be made by another lady named Bhāradvāji. The relation between the two ladies has not been stated and cannot be determined. The image was no doubt installed in a Vaiṣṇava religious establishment that must have existed in the Buṛhīkhār-Malhār region in ancient times.

The importance of the inscription lies not so much in its contents but in the fact that its early characters prove the antiquity of the image on which it is engraved. The description of the sculpture will show that it is a Vaiṣṇava image. The lower hands

1. See *Select Inscriptions*, Vol. 1, Plate facing p. 186.

2. Cf. Ojha : *Pracina-lipi-mālā*, Plate X, i; *Cf.* Plate XII, ii and Plate XIII.

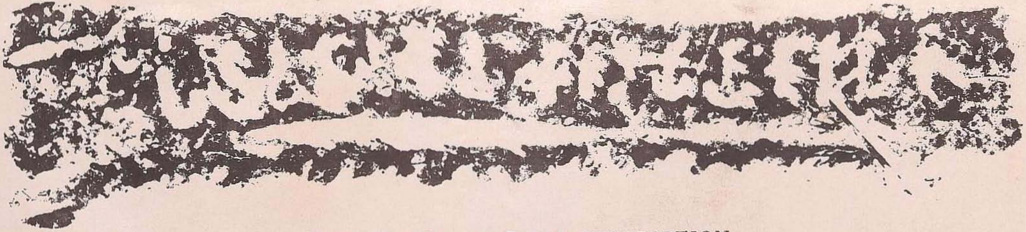
in the *añjali* pose suggests that it is not Viṣṇu but is probably a *parivāra devatā* of that God. The discovery of the image no doubt points to the existence of a Vaiṣṇavite religious establishment in the Buṛhīkhār-Malhār region of the Bilāspur District of Madhya Pradesh. Considering the antiquity of the image, the Vaiṣṇavite establishment, to which it belonged may be regarded as the earliest in that part of India and one of the earliest in the whole country.

Text

Payāva [ti] ya [da] na Bhāradayiya kār [i] ta ti (ll*)

Translation

(This image) is the gift of Prajāvatī (and) has been caused to be made by Bhāradvājī.



BURHĪKHĀR BRĀHMI INSCRIPTION

MALA-NADU

BY K.S. VAIDYANATHAN, B.A.

MALA-NADU was the name of an ancient territory or country which lay in between the Cōḷa and Koṅgu countries. It had that appellation of being the habitat of a martial class or race of people who bore the name Maḻavar and who were ruled by a chief called Maḻavar Perumagaṉ or Maḻavar-Kōṉ. They and their country find mention from very early times, in the classical Tamil works and the Dēvāram hymns. It is not improbable that they are the Maḻavas who figure among the enemies of the early Western Cāḷukyas and the Pallavas. The Pāṇḍya king Arikēs'ari Parāṇkus'a Māṟavarmaṉ Rājas'imha married a princess of the Maḻava royal family and this speaks to the high status of the Maḻavas. The Cōḷas also had matrimonial relationship with them. Maḻa-nādu has also lent its name to a subsect of Brāhmaṇas.

Their country appears to have been on both sides of the Kāveri river and was to an extent coterminous with the ancient Koṅgu country in its west. In this part it was called Maḻa-Koṅgu, having been for a time part of the Koṅgu kingdom. It included the region of the Kollimalais and its neighbourhood in the Namakkal taluk of the Salem District. This region which bore the name Kollikkūṟṟam was once under the sway of the chieftain called Ōri mentioned in Tamil Sangam works. That this part of Koṅgu *i.e.* Maḻa-Koṅgu, was bordered by the Kāveri in the south is made plain by the Vēḷvikuḍi plates of the Pāṇḍyan king Neḍuñjaḍaiyaṉ when it states that his father Rājas'imha had crossed the Kāveri and subdued Maḻa-Koṅgam.

Two major divisions into which Maḻa-Nāḍu was divided were called Mēṉ-Maḻa-Nāḍu and Kīḻ-Maḻa-Nāḍu. The former, also known as Mīy-Maḻa-Nāḍu, comprised the region east of the Karaipōṭṭāṉāṟu in the Musiri taluk and a good part of the adjoining Lalgudi taluk of the Tiruchirappalli District. It is commonly believed that Mēṉ-Maḻa-Nāḍu was centred round Tiruttavatturai (Lalgudi) and that Kīḻ-Maḻa-Nāḍu was centred round Tirumaḻapāḍi.

That this view is incorrect is proved by the facts that Pāchchil was the headquarters of Kolli Maḻvaṉ, the contemporary of Saint Jñāna Sambandar, and was also the seat of the Vēḷ chief Nambaṉ, who was subordinate of Perumbiḍugu Muttaraiyaṉ. Pāchchil, besides being the centre of Mēṉ-Maḻa-Nādu, was also the headquarters of the big division named after it.

Maḻa-Nāḍu extending from the Karaipōṭṭāṉāṟu stretched eastwards to Tirumaḻapādi and the region still further, the exact limits being definitely unknown. The location of places mentioned in Kuṉṟakkūṟṟam make it plain that the natural boundary of Maḻa-Nāḍu in the north was the river Veḷḷāṟu.

Inscriptions make reference to the region north of the Kāveri as "Vaḍakarai-Maḻa-Nāḍu." Records of the Pallavas, Pāṇḍyas and the Cōḷas provide some references to this country, its sub-divisions, as also to some places situated inside them. Tiruvēṅgi-malai, Tiruveḷḷarai, Tiruppaññīli, Tiruppāchchilāchchirāmam, Tirumaṅgalam, Tiruttavatturai and Tirumaḻapādi, are some of the ancient sacred places in the north of the Kāveri situated in Maḻa-Nāḍu.

The statement "காவிரியாற்றிற்குத்தெற்குத்திருச்சிராப்பள்ளி ....மழைநாட்டுத்தென்கரை உறையூர் கூற்றத்து மேல் பிலாற்றுத்திருப்பராய்த்துறை" found in an inscription of Parakēsari shows that Maḻa-Nāḍu extended south of the Kāveri river and included within it Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam. Even in a Vijayanagara record of *S'*. 1521, Uṟaiyūr-kuṟṟam is called a subdivision of Maḻai-Nāḍu in Rājagambhīravaḷanāḍu. Confirming this we find the use of the term Vaḍakarai-Maḻa-Nādu in many records evidently in contra-distinction of the region of Maḻa-Nāḍu south of the Kāveri (*i.e.* Teṉkarai-Maḻa-Nāḍu). This also goes well with the fact that places in Viḷā-Nāḍu are found on both sides of the Kāveri river.

Since a Maḻavaraiyaṉ, the chief of the Maḻavas, is said to have hailed from Periya Veṇmaṇi in Sūralūr-kūṟṟam and since this division was the name of the territory round Pēṭṭai Vāyttalai in the south of the Kāveri river in the Tiruchirappalli taluk, it is not wrong to suppose that Maḻa-Nāḍu included the regions south of the

Kāveri, as noted above, and that Sūralūr-kūṟṟam, was also a division inside it. Sūralūr-kūṟṟam was in the immediate west of Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam.

From a study of the references it is clear that in this region, *i.e.* south of the Kāveri river, Maḻa-Nāḍu "should have included a small portion of the Pudukottai State also."[1] The extension of Maḻa-Nāḍu south of the Kāveri river must be tentatively said to have been brought about at the time of the abandonment of Uṟaiyūr by Karikāla.

The distinct geographical territory of Maḻa-Nāḍu came to be treated as a part of the Cōḻa country or Cōḻa-Nāḍu, after the revival of the Cōḻa power by the capture of Tañjavūr from the Muttaraiyaṉs and the extension of the empire into the west including the Koṅgu by Aditya I. The subordination of the Vēḷ chief of this Maḻa-Nāḍu is significantly brought out by the name Sembyaṉ Maḻa-Nāṭṭu-Vēḷāṉ given to him in a record of Rājakēsari Āditya I.

Some of the important divisions into which Maḻa-Nāḍu was divided were Pāchchil-kūṟṟam, Kalāra-Kūṟṟam and Kuṉṟa-Kūṟṟam. From the location of places and descriptions of divisions it looks as if that Sūralūr-kūṟṟam, Uṟaiyūr-ūkṟṟam and Peraiyūr-Kūṟṟam were parts of Maḻa-Nāḍu. These divisions were centred round Pāchchil, Kalāram, Kuṉṟam, Sūralūr, Uṟaiyūr and Peraiyūr in the Tiruchirappalli District.

Pāchchil-Kūṟṟam was made up of two parts, Mīypalāṟu and Kīḻpalāṟu. In the Kiḻpalāṟu part were Guṇasīlam, Tiruveḷḷarai, Tiruppaiññīli, Samayavaram and Turaiyūr in the Musiri and Lalgudi taluks, lying in the east of the Aiyāṟu river which flows in the Musiri taluk. Of these Guṇasīlam alone is on its western bank. Kuraippaṟṟu was a subdivision of this Kūṟṟam and it represented the region round Esanakorai.

In Vijayanagara records Mēlpalāṟu is found subdivided into Kīḻaimuṟī and Mēlaimuṟi. Bikṣāndarkoil and Anbil are placed in the Kiḻaimuṟi. The prominent river in the part is the Kūḻaiyāṟu.

Pāchchil, the headquarters of the Pāchchil-Kūṟṟam, is no doubt identical with Pāchchūr in the Lalgudi taluk and Tiruvāsi

1. K.V.S. Aiyer : *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekhan.* p. 129.

near it was the part of pāchchūr or Tiruppāchchil wherein were Tiru Āchirāmam and Tiruvamālīsvaram temples. Modern Tiruvāsi is a corruption of Tiruvāchchirāmam and the name Tiruppāchchi-lāchchirāmam found in the Dēvāram hymns brings out the truth that Tiruvāsi was but a part of the ancient Pāchchil, *i.e.* Pāchchūr.

Kalāra, Kaḷāṟa or Kilāra-Kūṟṟam, which finds mention in early records, lay in the north of the Kāveri river and was made up of two divisions called Mīkūṟu and Kīḻkūṟu and comprised a good part of the modern Lalgudi taluk. In a record of *S'*.1488 it is stated to be a subdivision of Kīḻpalāṟu of Maḻa-Nāḍu. In the Kīḻ-kūṟu were Kiḻ-Anbil and Ādikuḍi, while in the Mī-Kūṟu were Sirugavūr, Tirumaṅgalam and Maṇakkāl. The dividing line appears to have been the big road from Lalguḍi to Tirumaḻapāḍi and Uḍaiyārpāḷayam in the adjacent taluk.

From the available references to the territorial division Viḷa-Nāḍu, it is clear that it was a large region in the centre of which the river Kāveri flowed and that it included parts of the modern Lalgudi and Tiruchirappalli taluks lying on both sides of that river. It was made up of portions of the ancient divisions of Pāchchil and Kalāram and the whole of Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam.[2]

Kalāra-Kūṟṟam was bounded on the west by the Pāchchil-Kūṟṟam and in the east by the Kuṉṟa-Kūṟṟam.

Kuṉṟa-Kūṟṟam is said to have been a subdivision of Uttuṅga-tuṅgavaḷanāḍu and was the region in which were Palūr, Mēlappaḻuvūr and Kīḻappaḻuvūr, Vēṭṭaguḍi, Tattanūr, Kūrūr, Aranūr, Mallūr and Vāraṇavāsi in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk and the parts adjoining the Lalgudi and Perambalur taluks in which were Kallagam and Kuriñjippadi. The headquarters of this Kūṟṟam was Kuṉṟam which is represented by modern Kuṉṉam in the Perambalur taluk. From a Vijayanagara record it is seen that Uttaṅgtuṅga-vaḷanāḍu had inside it Paḻuvūr-paṟṟu, Kuṉṟap-paṟṟu, and Ugaḷūr-Kūṟṟum, the first two being the region represented by Kuṉṟa-Kūṟṟam of the earlier records while the third was the division round Ugaḷūr which is modern Ogalūr in the Perambalur taluk, having within its jurisidiction Āḍuturai lying in the south bank of the river Veḷḷāṟu. This division appears to have once

2. See for a discussion on this, *QJMS.* Vol. XLIV. pp.43-46.

included a portion of the adjacent Vridhachalam taluk also, lying on the opposite bank of the river Veḷḷāṟu; Peruntoḷuvūr which was in that part is represented by modern Toludur in that taluk.

Peraiyūr-Kūṟṟam was the region in the western border of Ugaḷūr-Kūṟṟam. It was also known as Peraiyil-Kūṟṟam and was a subdivision of Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu, *i.e.* that part or Maḷa-Nāḍu which lay south of the Veḷḷāṟu river. In the west of this division was Vaḷḷuvappāḍi-Nāḍu and Vembāvūr-Nāḍu. In the south were Perambalūr-Nāḍu and Kuṉṟa-Kuṟṟam, divisions centred round Perambalūr, the taluk headquarters and Kuṉṉam in the same taluk.

The following were divisions which were located in the region of Maḷa-Nāḍu north of the Kāveri and south of the Veḷḷāṟu and belonged to one or other of the bigger divisions discussed above.

The portion that lay west of the mountain in the part of Mēṉ-Maḷa-Nāḍu in the modern Musiri taluk, north of the Kāveri was styled Mīy of Mīmalai. As it included within it the region round Mahēndramaṅgalam, west of S'rīnivasanallūr, it is clear that the mountain with reference to which the location was cited, was none other than the sacred Tiruvēṅgimalai, west of Musiri.

Aḷagarai or Alagarai-Nāḍu was the name of the region round Tirunārāyaṇapuram in the north bank of the Kāveri and west of Mahēndramaṅgalam in the Musiri taluk. Aḷagarai the centre of this Nāḍu is modern Alagarai north of Maṇamēḍu and S'rīnivāsa-nallūr.

Āmūr-Nāḍu was the name of the division round Āmūr on the north bank of the Kāveri and lay west of the Aiyāṟu river.

Paraṇḍiyur-Nāḍu was the region round Chellur and Karuṅ-goḍi-Nāḍu was in the vicinity of Marudamaṅgalam and Kūḷaiyāṟu.

Veṇkōṉkuḍi-kaṇḍam was the strip of country within which was Māgāṇikuḍi in the vicinity of Samayavaram in the Lalgudi taluk.

Piḍavūr or Tiruppiḍuvūr-Nāḍu was the division round Tirup-piḍavūr, *i.e.* Tiruppattūr in the Lalgudi taluk. It included the places Periyakorukkai, Pālaiyūr, Perugaṉūr and Avaravalli in the same taluk.

Kāṇakkiḷiyūr-Nāḍu was the division round Kānakkiḷiyūr on

the east bank of the Nandiyār river in the Lalgudi taluk and had within it Tachchankurichchi and Siruvaḷaippur.

Veḷḷaiyūr-kaṇḍam was the strip of country round Veḷḷanūr east of Peruvaḷanallūr in the Lalgudi taluk and included Seṅgēndi on the northern bank of the Nandiyār river.

Pirammilinallūr-kaṇḍam was the tract round Pirammilinallūr which appears to have been the name of Peruvaḷanallūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

In the immediate west of the region round Pāchchil was Vilattūr-Nāḍu. It was centred round Paluvur south-west of Manachchanallur in the Lalgudi taluk. Kārraikkuḍi and Ēnādimaṅgalam were inside it. Marudūr, Turaiyōr, Vāḷāḍi and Ēsānakorai of the Pāchchil-Kūṟṟam were in the division which lay in the east of Viḷattūr-Nāḍu.

To the east of the division round Marudūr and Vāḷādi was Iḍaiyāṟṟu Naḍu. This division was centred round Iḍaiyāṟṟūr and was divided into two parts according as they lay to the north of the Kāveri and south of the Coleroon. They were called Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Nāḍu (Vaḍakari) and Teṉkarais-Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Naḍu. This division comprised the region in which were Lalgudi (Tiruttavatturai), Mummudis'ōaḷmaṅgalam, Viḍayāttimaṅgalam, Kūkūr, Javanthināthapuram, Muttiyūr, Sāttamaṅgalam, and Kīḷ-Anbil in the Lalgudi taluk, places in the north of the Kāveri and west of the Coleroon, and included also the portions round Tiruchchinnampūṇḍi in the adjacent Tañjāvūr taluk, lying in the south of the Coleroon and north of the Kaveri. It is clear from this and from the description of Maḷa-Nāḍu with its main divisions of Pāchchil-Kūṟṟam and Kalāra-Kūṟṟam, that Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Nāḍu [3] was a part of the latter Kūṟṟam. Places inside this Nāḍu were thus mentioned as being situated inside the major division.

3. This division of Maḷa-Nāḍu ought therefore not to be confused with any division inside the Cōḷa-Nāḍu. In the days of the Pallava king Nṛipatunga, Pāṇḍya Varaguṇa and the Cōḷa Rājakēsari, Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Nāḍu and the larger territory of Maḷa-Nāḍu remained as such. After the conquest of this region by the Cōḷās, it was included in Coḷamaṇḍaḷam, and the country of Māḷa-Nāḍu was divided into parts bearing names like Pāṇḍikulās'ani-Vaḷanāḍu, Rājarāja Vaḷanādu and Rājās'raya Vaḷa-Nāḍu.

Poygai-Nāḍu was the name of the division which had for its headquarters Poygai, which place we may identify with modern Poyyūr in the Udaiyarpalayam Taluk. It comprised of parts of Udaiyarpalayam and Lalgudi taluks, lying to the north and west of the Coleroon, and also parts of the Tiruchirappalli District which lay west of the Nandi river, a tributary joining the Coleroon south-east of Nattamangudi. Thus Poygai-Nāḍu lay north of the Kāveri river. It was divided into two parts Kīḷapalāṟu and Mīpalaṟu according as they lay in the east or west of the Coleroon river. Since Tirumaḷapāḍi is included in it, as also the parts west of that sacred place, it is plain that Poygai-Nāḍu was a part of Maḷa-Nāḍu, in its eastern sector the Kīḷ-Maḷa-Nāḍu. The name is itself suggestive of its location.

The region south and east of the Coleroon was called Kīḷ-palāṟu, while the region west of that river was called Mīyapalāṟu. The former included also a part of the modern Tañjāvur taluk in which are Tiliasthānam and Tiruvaiyāṟu.

Thus Poygai-Nāḍu and Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Nāḍu were contiguous divisions of Maḷa-Nāḍu and they sometime overlapped each other.

Mēl-Vaḷi-Nāḍu was the name of the region through which the high road from Samayavaram to Vriddhachalam ran in the adjoining parts of the Lalgudi and the Perambalur taluks. Ūṟṟat-tur-Nāḍu and Kāṉakkiḷiyūr-Nāḍu were the names of the two divisions that lay in this region. Ūṟṟattūr-Nāḍu was the division round modern Ūttattūr in the Lalgudi taluk. Neṟkulam and Nambikkurichchi were within it and it included also parts of the adjoining Perambalur taluk, round Paḍalūr. Kāṉakkiḷiyūr-Nāḍu was south of Uṟṟattūr-Nāḍu and was centred round Kāṉakkiḷiya-nallūr on the banks of the Nandiyār river in the Lalgudi taluk west of Tappāy.

Vaḷḷuvappāḍi-Nāḍu was the division round Vaḷḷuvāḍi in the Perambalur taluk. It was divided into two major parts Mēl-Vaḷḷuvappāḍi-Nāḍu and Kīḷ-Vaḷḷuvappāḍi-Nāḍu. In the western part were Periya-Kaḷḷikuḍi, Periya-Kaṉṉaṉūr and Kaṉṉaṉūr in the Musiri taluk. In the eastern part were Veṇmaṇi (Small and Big) and Ṭuriñjippadi, which name is probably a corruption of

Kuriñjippadi, in the Perambalur taluk. The location of Vaḷḷuvāḍi and the above noted places in the Perambalur taluk shows that Vembār-Nāḍu, Perambalūr-Nāḍu and other smaller divisions were inside this major division in its eastern part. The western part, as we have noted, extended into the adjacent Musiri taluk.

Vembār-Nāḍu was round Vembāvūr in the Perambalur taluk and was divided into two parts Mēl-Kūṟu and Kīḻ-Kūṟu.

Perambalūr-Nāḍu was the division round Perambalur, the taluk headquarters.

Mūlai-Nāḍu was probably the region round Mullaiyūr in the same taluk and this division was contiguous to Perambalūr-Nāḍu and Vembār-Nāḍu.

Miṟai-Kūṟṟam or Viṟai-Nāḍu was the name of a big division which lay in the immediate east of the Poygai Nāḍu, and consisted of portions situated on either sides of the Kāveri river, corresponding to parts of the Udaiyārpāḷayam, Pāpanāsam and Tañjāvūr taluks of the Tiruchirappalli and Tañjāvūr Districts. The centre of this division was Miṟai and it is probably represented by Periyamuṟai on the north bank of the Coleroon in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk. This division was also known as Viṟai-Kūṟṟam. Kāmarasavalli, Rāmanallūr and Ōriyūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk, Umbaḷappāḍi in the Papanasam taluk, Tiruppaḷanam, Tiṅgaḷūr and Taḷakkuḍi in the Tañjāvūr taluk, were within this Kūṟṟam. A Maḷavarāyanallūr, which owed its name to a Maḷavarāyaṉ, is in the north of Ōriyūr and Kāmarasavalli in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

To the east of this Miṟai-Nāḍu was the Iṉṉambūr-Nāḍu of the Cōḷa-Nāḍu, which in turn was situated west of the Maṇṇi-Nāḍu of the same country, being centred round Iṉṉambūr in the Kumbakonam taluk. The region west of Gōvindaputtūr in the Udaiyārpalayam taluk, probably marks the eastern limit of Miṟai-Nādu, for that place is found included in the Iṉṉambūr-Nāḍū. Similarly a Vaikāvūr in Aṇḍāṭṭu-Kūṟṟam marked another limit.

South of the Kāveri river, Uṟaiūyr-Kūṟṟam covered a large tract, its main subdivision being Uṟaiyūr-Nāḍu or Kōḻi-Nāḍu, which had its headquarters at Uṟaiyūr, an ancient **Cōḷa** capital. Mī-Kōḻi-Nāḍu was the name of the subdivision west of Koḻi-Nāḍu,

Uyyakkondan Tirumalai, Tiruchirapalli, Nangavaram, Tiruppalātturai, Tiruchchendurai, Kumāravayalūr and Muḷḷukkurumbūr and other places in the Tiruchirappalli taluk were inside Uṟaiyūr-Kūṟṟam.

Kiḷiyūr-Nāḍu which included the region round Andanallūr west of Jīyapuram in the Tiruchirappalli taluk must have been a part of the Uṟaiyūr-Kūṟṟam. To the south of Kiḷiyūr-Nāḍu and to the west of Kavira-Nāḍu lay parts of Purakkiḷiyūr-Nāḍu in which were Pūlaṅguḍi, Puṅganūr, Kīḻakurichi and Kaḷḷikuḍi. The southern part of this Purakkiḷiyūr-Nāḍu was called Teṉ-Purakkiḷiyūr-Nāḍu and Puṅganūr was inside it. To the immediate north of these divisions was Uṟaiyūr-Nāḍu.

Thus we may conclude that Uṟaiyūr-Kūṟṟam must have had within it not only the region round Uṟaiyūr but the whole of the modern Tiruchirappalli taluk with some parts of the adjoining taluks.

To the immediate west of Kiḷiyūr-Nāḍu was Sūralūr-Kūṟṟam in which was Pēṭṭaivāyttalai, Kīḻaivayalūr and Periya Veṇmaṇi, *i.e.* Perugumaṇi in the Tiruchirappalli taluk. This region appears to be just north of Nangavaram and south of the Kāveri river. It lay west of Mī-kōḍu-Nāḍu and the Kurunagar-Nāḍu in which were Kuḷittalai and S'ivāyam of the modern Kulittalai taluk, the whole of the region being styled Kurumbūr-Nāḍu.

In the eastern border of Uṟaiyūr-Kūṟṟam was Eyi-Nāḍu, an integral part of Ārkāṭṭu-kūṟṟam, within which were Kachchamaṅgalam, Kaḍambaṅguḍi, Mēkaḷattūr, Māranēri and other places in the Tañjāvūr taluk. Eyi-Nāḍu was in the north-eastern boundary of Kavira-Nāḍu and lay south of the Kāveri and south of the Poygai-Nāḍu and Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Nāḍu in the region of Tiruchchinnampūṇḍi and Tiruvaiyāru.

The region which lies west of Sūralūr-Kūṟṟam and Mī-Kōḻi-Nāḍu, and east of the boundary marked by the mud embankment from Kaṭṭaḷai in the south bank of the Kāveri running southwards as the continuation of the Karaipōṭṭāṉāṟu, was made up of the following divisions:

Kōḍu-Nāḍu or Kōṭṭu-Nāḍu was made up of two parts, the western being called Mīkōḍu or Mīkōṭṭu-Nāḍu. The name is

probably due to the location of this division in the Kōḍu or the corner of the kingdom and because it lay on the border of the mud embankment continuing southwards the line of boundary marked by the Karaipōṭṭāṉāṟu. The Mīkōṭṭu-Nāḍu was the division round Kuḷittalai, the taluk headquarters and this region was also called Kurumbūr-Nāḍu. In it were Mahādānapuram, old Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḻapuram, Karuṅgilāppalli and Valladamaṅgalam.

Kurunagar-Nāḍu was the name of the division round S'ivāyam and Ratnagiri, in the Kulittalai taluk. Ādanūr-Nāḍu represented the region round Mahādānapuram.

Taṭṭaikaḷa-Nāḍu or Taṭṭaiyūr-Nāḍu was the division which had within it S'āttanūr, Tirumukkūḍal, S'ōmūr and other places in the Karur taluk, and was called after Taṭṭai or Taṭṭaiyūr.

In the south of Uṟaiyūr-Kūṟṟam was the northern part of Kōṉāḍu. Vaḍa-Kōṉāḍu extended into the adjacent Kulittalai taluk also. Mudiyakkuḍi-Nāḍu or Mudusoṟkuḍi-Nāḍu was a subdivision of Vaḍa-Kōṉāḍu and included Pūrattūr, Kaḍuvaṅgudi, Poygai, and Turaikkuḍi. Modern Pūrattukōyil was called Kaḍuvaṅguḍi, and Poygaipaṭṭi in the region of Maṉappārai represents the Poygai. Turaikkuḍi is in the adjacent Tiruchirappalli taluk. Maruṅgāpuri Zamin inside the Tiruchirappalli district was called Kappiñji-Nāḍu.

From all that has been said above, it will be seen that Maḷa-Nāḍu was bordered by the Veḷḷāṟu river in the north, that the Karaipōṭṭāṉāṟu and its continuation in the south of the Kāveri formed as it were the boundary in the west, that in the south it was coterminous with Kōṉāḍu, the Iruṅgōvēḷ country, while in the east it was bordered by the divisions of the Cōḷa-Nāḍu, *viz.* Aṇḍāṭṭu-Kūṟṟam, Āṟkāṭṭu-Kūṟṟam and Tañjāvūr-Kūṟṟam.

It is necessary to note here the following. From an analysis of the references to the ancient territorial divisions into which the contiguous regions which lay on either side of the Kāveri river, in the modern Tiruchirappalli and Tañjāvūr Districts, were divided, it appears that the early modes of classifications of these into groups found in prevalence until the loss of the region by the Pallavas were altered and reclassified by the Cōḷas who reconquered them, under major divisions which came to bear new names. This seems

to have been done in the reign of Rājarāja I, for the earlier clear distinctions between the divisions of the Cōḷa-Nāḍu and the adjacent tracts of Maḷa-Nāḍu appear to have been consistently adhered to until the succession of that great king.

Rājarāja I, the great military conqueror who extended the Cōḷa dominion in many directions not only set about the task of a very minute revenue survey of his vast country, but also engaged his state officials in the task of the geographical redistribution of the countries under his actual sway. Toṇḍai-Nāḍu was called Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷa-manḍalam. Pāṇḍi-Nāḍu was called Rājarāja-Pāṇḍi-Nāḍu. and the vastly extended Cōḷa-Nāḍu became Cōḷa-maṇḍalam. This Cōḷa-maṇḍalam was divided into major parts called Vaḷanāḍus, each of which came to be distinguished by one or other of the names or surnames of the great king, like Kṣatriyasimha, Rājās'raya, Kēraḷāntaka, Arumoḻidēva, Rājarāja, etc.

One of these was called Pāṇḍiyakulās'aṇi-vaḷanāḍu, evidently bearing that surname of the king signifying his terrible conquest over the Pāṇḍya and this region appears to have later on obtained the other name Pāṇḍyakulapathi-vaḷanāḍu when the mediaeval Pāṇḍyan king came to possess the region after conquering his Cōḷa adversary.

Rājās'raya-vaḷanāḍu and Kēraḷāntaka-vaḷanāḍu appear to have been the names of the divisions which were contiguous to Pāṇḍyakulās'aṇi-vaḷanāḍu. The former and Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu represented a great part of Maḷa-Nāḍu, while the latter denoted the region in the immediate south of the Kāveri river, in the Tiruchirapalli District.

Pāṇḍiyakulās'aṇi-vaḷanāḍu had within it, among others, Iḍaiyāṟṟu Nāḍu, Kiḻiyūr-Nāḍu, Purakkiḻiyūr-Nāḍu, Viḷā-Nāḍu, and Mīkōḻi-Nāḍu. Some of the divisions inside Rājās'raya-vaḷanāḍu were Paranḍiyūr-Nāḍu, Kalāra-Kūṟṟam, Pāchchil-Kūṟṟam, Veṇkōṉkuḍi-kaṇḍam, Veḷḷaiyūr-kaṇḍam, Tiruppiḍavūr-Nāḍu, Mēl-Vaḷi-Nāḍu, and Ūttattūr-Nāḍu, while Kēraḷāntakavaḷanāḍu included Taṭṭaikaḷa-Nāḍu, Mīkōṭṭu-Nāḍu, Ādaṉūr-Nāḍu, Aḷa-Nāḍu and Uṟaiyūr-Kūṟṟam.

From the location of these divisions it appears that Pāṇḍiyakulās'āṉi-vaḷanāḍu included parts of the two other vaḷanāḍus and

only a more critical examination of the dates and other details of various inscriptions which make these references can enable us to distinguish the extent of these major divisions on particular dates or periods. The exact limits of these divisions are still to be ascertained.

It will be seen from the above that parts of Maḻa-Nāḍu came to be included in different vaḷanāḍus.

Places in Maḻa-Nāḍu and the subdivisons.

Maḻa-Nāḍu or *Maḻai-Nāḍu*
alias Rājāśraya-vaḷanāḍu

Mēl-Maḻa-Nāḍu—Ayilūr. Ayilūr is in the Musiri taluk.
—Kiḍāram in *Ayilūr-s'īrmai*. Kiḍāram is in the Musiri taluk.

Mīy-Maḻa-Nāḍu—S'iṟṟūr. This is Chittur west of Musiri in the Musiri taluk.

Kīḻ-Maḻa-Nāḍu—Peruṅgāvūr *alias* Lakkaṇadaṇṇāyākapuram. This is in the Lalgudi taluk.

Maḻa-Nāḍu :

—*Kalāra-Kūṟṟam.*
—*Pāchchil-Kūṟṟām.*
—*Karuṅgodi-Nāḍu.*
—*Paraṇḍiyūr-Nāḍu.*
—*Āmūr-Nāḍu.*
—*Aḻagarai-Nāḍu.*
—*Mīyamalai.*
—*Veḷḷaiyūr-kaṇḍam.*
—*Tiruppiḍavūr-Nāḍu.*
—*Uṟaiyūr-Kūṟṟam.*

Places in Maḻa-Nāḍu :

—Tattamaṅgalam. Thattamaṅgalam is on the north bank of the Uppār river and north-east of Tiruveḷḷarai in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Marudūr. Marudūr is south-east of Kaṇṇaṉūr, north-east of Turaiyūr and west of the Uppār river in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tiruveṭpūr.

—Toṭṭiyam. Toṭṭiyam is east of Aras'alūr in the Musiri taluk. It is called *Maḻa-nāṭṭu Miḻalai dēvadānam brahmadēyam Toṭṭiyam.*

—Vālipuram. A Vālikaṇḍapuram is in the Parambalūr taluk. Vālikaṇḍaparam is said to be in *Vaḍakarai-Karikāla-kaṇṇa-vaḷanāḍu.*

—Tūyvēli.

—Ōvaichchēri, a hamlet of Brahmapurinallūr. This may be Ōkai in the Perambalur taluk.

—Kumārakkuḍi. Kumārakuḍi is north of Bikṣāṇḍār-kōyil and south-east of Pāchchur in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Peruṅgāvūr *alias* Lakkaṇṇadaṇṇāyakapuram. Peruṅgāvūr is probably Tirukkāvūr east of Turaiyūr and west of Maḻavaṇūr. Kīḻ-Peruṅgāvūr is east of Tirukkāvūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tirukkurakkuttuṇai. This was the old name of S'rīnivāsanallūr near Mahēndramaṅgalam in the Musiri taluk.

—Turaiyūr. Turaiyūr is near Tiruvāsi in the Lalgudi taluk. This was also called Tuḍaiyūr.

—Ayirūr.

—Vallapuram.

—Sangatti-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. This is probably Saṅgēndi in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Mahēndiramaṅgalam. Mahēndramaṅgalam is near S'rīnivāsanallūr in the Musiri taluk.

—Mummuḍis'ōḻappēṭṭai. This was the other name of Musiri, the headquarters of the taluk.

Paraṇḍiyūr-Nāḍu

—Sellūr.

Āmūr-Nāḍu.

—Teṇṇāmūr. This is Āmur north of the Kāveri and west of the Aiyāṟu river and north west of Guṇas'īlam in the Musiri taluk. Pēr-Āmūr is on the north bank of the Kāveri and south of Veḷḷūr in the Musiri taluk.

—Veḷḷāṉ Veḷḷūr. This is Veḷḷūr east of Musiri and north of Pēr-Āmūr in the Musiri taluk.

—Kīḻakuḍi, Aṟakāḻankuḍi and Poygaiputtūr in Teṉṉāmūr.

Karungoḍi-Nāḍu.

—The lake in this division was called Marudaṅguḷam, and as this and Kūḻaiyāṟu figure among the boundaries of a gift made to the God at Toṭṭiyam in the Musiri taluk, it is clear that this division was in the vicinity of the Kūḻaiyāṟu.

Aḻagarai or *Alagarai* or *Allakarai-Nāḍu* in *Vaḍakarai-Rājās'raya-vaḷanāḍu.*

—Aḻagarai. Aḻagarai is north of Maṇamēḍu and S'rīnivāsanallūr in the Musiri taluk.

—Rājarāja Tirunārāyaṇapuram. This Tirunārāyaṇapuram is on the north bank of the Kāveri, south of Aras'alūr and south-west of Thoṭṭiyam in the Musiri taluk.

—Sundara-Pāṇḍya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam, a hamlet of Tirunārāyaṇapuram.

—Avanivēndra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam at Tirunārāyaṇapuram.

Mīymalai, a subdivision of *Rājās'raya-vaḷanāḍu.*

As the region lies in and around Tiruvēṅgimalai, the mountain with reference to which the division was located is identical with the ancient sacred hillock of Tiruvēṅgimalai [4] west of Musiri in the Musiri taluk.

—Mahēndramaṅgalam. Mahēndramaṅgalam is on the north bank of the Kāveri and west of S'rīnivāsanallūr in the Musiri taluk.

—Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḻa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

Pāchchil-Kūṟṟām.

in *Maḻa-Nāḍu.*

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4. Tiruvēṅgimalai is the Iṅgoimalai of Tamil Literature, and is probably the same as the Marhatpur of the Muslim historians and the Marakatanagara of the Vijayanagara inscriptions, so called after the God of the place Marakatācalēs'vara.

in *Vaḍakarai-Maḻa-Nāḍu.*
in *Rājās'raya Vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Vaḍakarai-Rājās'raya-Vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Vīrarājēndra-Vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Kulōttuṅgas'ōḷa-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Tribhuvaṉamuḻududaiya-vaḷanāḍu.*

—*Kīḻpalāṟu.*

—Tuṟaiyūr. Tuṟaiyūr is in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tuḍaiyūr, a *brahmadēya* in *Maḻa-Nāḍu.* This is the same as Tuṟaiyūr noted above.

—Veḷḷūr near Tuṟaiyūr.

—Īṅgaiyūr, Paṉamaṅgalam and Kāramaṅgalam. Īṅgaiyūr is Īṅgūr west of Tuṟaiyur. Paṉamaṅgalam is on the road to Samayavaram, west of Īṅgur. Paṉamaṅgalam and S'āttampāḍi were in *Paṉamaṅgala-paṟṟu.*

—Vāḷāḍi. Vāḷāḍi is on the road to Lalgudi from Bikṣāṇḍārkōyil and is south of S'irumarudūr. Mēḷ-Vāḷāḍi is west of Vāḷāḍi.

—Māgāṉikkuḍi. This is Mākāḷikkuḍi south of Kaṇṇaṉūr and west of Marudūr in the Lalgudi taluk. This is said to be in *Veṇkōṉkuḍi-kaṇḍam* in *Maḻa-Nāḍu.*

—Perumarudūr. This is Marudūr, north-east of Tuṟaiyur in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tachchaṉṉilam, a *brahmadēya.*

—Guṇas'īlamaṅgalam. This is Guṇas'īlam on the northern bank of the Kāveri and west of the Aiyāṟu river in the adjoining Musiri taluk.

—Pērūr S'irudavūr *alias* Pāḷūrchēri. S'irudavūr is S'irudaiyūr, north of Lalgudi.

—*Kuraippaṟṟu* in *Kīḻpalāṟu.*

—Is'anaikkurai. This is Esanakorai, north of Taṇḍankorai in the north bank of the Coleroon in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Taṇḍankurai. This is Taṇḍankurai on the northern bank of the Coleroon in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Kārisāttāṉkurai.

Pudūr-S'īrmai.

—Kaṉṉaṉūr. Kaṉṉaṉūr is south of Samayavaram in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Pudūr of this *s'īrmai* may be Pudūr-nattham in the north of Samayavaram or it may have been the other name of Samayavaram itself.

—Mīypalōṟu

—Aṉbaṉūr. S'eṭṭimaṅgalam and Tiruppaññīli were near it.

—Sendāmaraikkaṉṉanallūr. This is Sendāmaraikkaṉ south of Seṭṭimaṅgalam and north of Kiḷiyanallūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—*Kīḻaimuṟi*-Bikṣāṇḍārkōyil. Bikṣāṇḍārkōyil is in the Lalgudi taluk.

—*Kīḻaimuṟi*-Aṉbil, a *brahmadēya.* Kīḻ-Aṉbil is in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Toḍaiyūr, a *brahmadēya.*

—Rājarājanallūr.

Pāchchil-Kūṟṟam

—Pāchchil. This was the headquarters of the *Kūṟṟam* and is represented by modern Pāchchūr near Tiruvās'i in the Lalgudi taluk. In the days of the Dēvāram hymnists Tiruvās'i was a part of Pāchchil or Tiruppāchchil.

—Tiruveḷḷaria (in *Vaḍavaḻi-nāḍu,* in *Vaḍakarai-nāḍu*). Tiruveḷḷarai is on the road from Bikṣāṇḍārkōyil to Tuṟaiyūr *via* Maṉachchanallūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Teṉṉur, the southern part of Tiruveḷḷarai. This is Teṟkur, south of Tiruveḷḷarai.

—Muṭṭam *alias* Nāḍaripugaḻnallūr was the western hamlet of Tiruveḷḷarai.

- Tiruppaññīli Tiruveḷḷarai. This is Tiruppaññīli south-west of Tiruveḷḷarai.

—Maṇiyambalam was the western hamlet of Tiruppaññīli.

—Nṛipatuṅgamaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya.*

—Seppālaikkuḍi *alias* Aṉapāyanallūr

—Seṭṭimaṅgalam, Siṟṟāmbūr, Pāmbaṉūr and Kuḷakkuḍi were near each other. Of these Seṭṭimaṅgalam is south of Kiḷinallūr in the Lalgudi taluk. Siṟṟāmbūr is in the adjoining Musiri taluk.

—Kaṇṇaṉur, a hamlet of Tiruveḷḷarai. Kaṇṇaṉūr is south of Samayavaram in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Kārimaṅgalam.

—S'embiyaṉallūr. S'embiyaṉallūr is S'embiyaṉūr near Mel Vāḷāḍi in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Narasiṅgamaṅgalam, Kaṇṇaṉūr, Ottaṉūr and Seṅgaiyūr are near one another. Of these Narasiṅgamaṅgalam is north-east of Kaṇṇaṉūr and south-east of Samayavaram, and Ottaṉūr is east of Kaṇṇaṉūr.

—Kaṇṇudaichchaturvēdimaṅgalam. This is probably a reference to the Kaṇṇaṉūr noted above.

—Marudūr. Marudūr is east of Kaṇṇaṉūr, in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Purōs'aikkuḍi.

—Toḍaiyūr, Nattanāṅguḍi and Maḻavaṉūr. 25 *Vēli* of land from these villages were clubbed together and made into a village called Ravivarma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Toḍaiyūr is on the north bank of the Kāveri and west of Tiruvās'i in the Lalgudi taluk. Maḻavaṉūr is east of Tuṟaiyūr and Tirukkāvūr in the same taluk.

—*Vaḍa-Vaḻi-Nāḍu* in *Pāchchilkūṟṟa-Nāḍu.*

—Veṅgānattam *alias* S'ōḻaganallūr. This is probably S'ōḻaṅganallūr west of Tiruppaññili in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Nelvēli. This is Neyvēli east of Sendāmaraikkaṇ in the Lalgudi taluk. Another Neyvēli is in the Musiri taluk.

—Kuṉṟattūr and Vēṅgaimaṉṟam. Vēṅgaimaṉṟam is modern Vēṅgaimaṇḍalam in the Musiri taluk.

Kalāra-Kūṟṟam (*Kalāra* is spelt in many ways as *Kalār*, *Kalāṟ* *Kaḷār*, *Kiḻār*, *Kiḻāl*, etc.).

in *Vaḍakarai-Maḻā-Nāḍu.*

in *Vaḍakarai-Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Rājās'raya-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Ulaguḍaiyamukkōkkiḻānaḍigaḷ-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Virarājēndra-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Dīnacintāmaṇi-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Tribhuvanamuḍaiya-vaḷanāḍu.*

—*Mī-Kūṟu* or *Mēl-Kūṟu.*

—Sirugavūr. This is Sirudaiyūr north of Lalgudi in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tirumaṅgalam. Tirumaṅgalam is north of Sirudaiyūr and on the western bank of the Kūḷaiyāṟu river. This was called also Maṅgalam. Tirumaṅgalam is spelt as Tiruvirundamaṅgalam in a Vijayanagara record.

—Maṇaṟkāl. This is Maṇakkāl north-west of Lalgudi in the Lalgudi taluk. Maṇaṟkal is said to be a *brahmadēya* in *Mēl-Kūṟṟam* of *Kalāra-Kūṟṟam.*

—*Kīḻ-Kūṟu*

—Aṉbil. Aṉbil is Kīḻ-Aṉbil on the north bank of the Koḷḷiḍam in the Lalgudi taluk. Aṉbil is said to be in the *Kīḻai-mūṟi* of *Kalāra-Kūṟṟam* in a Vijayanagara record.

—Tiru-Ādikuḍi. This is Ādikuḍi in the west of Kīḻ-Aṉbil in the Lalgudi taluk.

Kalāra-Kūṟṟam

—Kaḷvaṉmaṅgalam.

—Maṇaṟkāl. This is Maṇakkāl north-west of Lalgudi in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tirunachchiyūr, a hamlet of Maṇaṟkāl.

—Kiḷi or Kiḷinallūr. This is Kiḷiyanallūr in the northern bank of the Kāveri in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Dāmōdaramaṅgalam.

—Tuvēdimaṅgalam.

—Parākramacōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Parākēs'arinallur.

—Nagar Tirumaḷavaṉūr or Nagar Vāḷkai. This is Nagar north-west of Lalgudi in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Mummuḍis'ōḷamaṅgalam *alias* S'embiyaṉ Neṟkuppai and S'embiyaṉ Kāṭṭūr. Mummudis'ōḷamaṅgalam is in the east of Lalgudi in the Lalgudi taluk. Kāṭṭūr is in the north of Kūḷaiyāṟu. Its name is also spelt as Kōṭṭūr in a record.

—Iṟaiyāñchēri.

—Māntōṭṭam. River Agaiyāṟu passed through this village.

—Kaikaḷūr or Iyalkaikaḷūr.

—Neṟṟakudikkā.

Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Nāḍu

—Tiruttavatturai or Tiruttavatturaikkaṭṭaḷai. This was the ancient name of modern Lalgudi, the headquarters of the taluk.

—S'iṟugāvūr is said to be in the *mēṟpulam* of Tiruttavatturai.

—Iḷamperuṅkāyirukkai.

—Kavirappoṟkaṭṭiyur or Kavirappolkaṭṭigudi.

—Iḍaiyāṟṟūr. This was the centre of this division.

—Tāḷaiyūr. This is Tāḷakkudi on the north bank of the Coleroon, on the road from Tiruchirappalli to Samayavaram in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam. This is modern Viḍayāttimaṅgalam on the north bank of the Coleroon in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tirumayilraṅgam of Iḍayāṟṟumaṅgalam. This is modern Javanthināthapuram west of Viḍayāttimaṅgalam.

—Tirumaṇameḍu. Tirumaṇamēdu is west of Vāḷāḍi and north-west of Javanthināthapuram in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Muttaiyil. This may be Muttiyūr east of Tirumaṇamēḍu and north-west of Javanthināthapuram in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tirunachchiyūr, a hamlet of Maṇārkāl is said to be the eastern part of Lalgudi. Kīḷai-Tirunachchiyūr-Perumāḷ was the name of the God of the Viṣṇu temple (Viṇṇagar Emberumāṉ) at Iḍaiyāṟṟumaṅgalam.

—Mummuḍis'ōḻamaṅgalam. Mummuḍis'ōḻamaṅgalam is east of Lalgudi in the Lalguḍi taluk.

—Nallimaṅgalam. This is Naṉṉimaṅgalam south of Mummuḍis'ōḻamaṅgalam and south-east of Lalgudi in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Sāttamaṅgalam. Sāttamaṅgalam is north of Kūkūr and east of Mummuḍis'ōḻamaṅgalam in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Pudukkuḍi. Pudukkuḍi is south of Pallavaram in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Toṇḍavaichchaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Nityāvinītamaṅgalam. This was the other name of Kīḻ-Aṉbil in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Kārikuḍi.

—Parāntakapuram. This was the ancient name of modern Seṉṉivāykkāl. Kumarandai was a part of Parāntakapuram.

—*Teṉkarai-Iḍaiyāṟṟu-Nāḍu*—Tiruchchiṉṉampūṇḍi. Tiruchchiṉṉampūṇḍi is in the Tañjāvūr taluk, north of the river Kāveri. (*Teṉkarai-Iḍaiyāṟṟu-nāṭṭu-Tiruchchaḍaimuḍi-Mahādēvar* was the term applied to the God at Tiruchchiṉṉampūṇḍi in the Tañjāvūr taluk.)

Vaḷḷuvappāḍi-Nāḍu

in *Karikālākanna-vaḷanāḍu*

in *Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu.*

in *Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu.*

—Vaḷḷuvappāḍi of this *nāḍu* appears to be modern Vaḷḷuvāḍi in the Perambalur taluk.

—Ādaṉūr. Ādaṉūr is east of Kaṇṇaṉūr and Aiyāṟu in the Musiri taluk.

Mēlai or *Mēl-Vaḷḷuvappāḍi Nāḍu.*

—Kaṇṇaṉūr. Kaṇṇaṉūr is on the eastern bank of the Aiyāṟu river on the road from Musiri to Tuṟaiyur. It was also called Vikramasiṅgapuram.

—Periya Kaṇṇaṉūr.

—Periya Kaḷḷikkuḍi. Periya Kaḷḷikuḍi is north-west of Kaṇṇaṉūr.

Kīḻ-Valluvappāḍi-Nāḍu.

—Veṇmaṇippāḍi converted into a mercantile town called Tāyilunallapuram. Small and Big Veṇmaṇi are in the Perambalur taluk.

Vaḷḷaiyūr-kaṇḍam

—Seṅgēndi or Seṅgēndimaṅgalam. Seṅgēndi *alias* Pāṇḍināḍu-koṇḍa-s'ōḻa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Seṅgēndi is on the west bank of the Nandiyār river and east of Kumulūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Veḷḷaiyūr. Veḷḷaiyūr of this region seems to be Veḷḷaṉūr east of Peruvaḷanallūr and south of Seṅgēndi in the Lalgudi taluk.

Piḍavūr-Nāḍu or *Tiruppiḍavūr-Nāḍu.*

—Kuṟukkai or Periya-Koṟukkai. This is Periya-Koṟukkai east of Tiruppaṭṭūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tiruchchiṟṟambala-chaturvedimaṅgalam, a hamlet of Kuṟukkai.

—Piḍavūr or Tiruppiḍavūr. This was the name of Tiruppaṭṭūr on the west bank of the Shaṇmughanadi, a tributary to the Kūḻaiyāṟu, in the Lalgudi taluk. It was also called Mūvāyiranallūr.

—Peruṅgōṉūr, a hamlet of Tiruppiḍavūr. This is Perugaṉūr south of Tiruppaṭṭūr. Siṟugaṉūr is east of it in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Ākāravalli, a hamlet of Tiruppiḍavūr. This is Āvāravalli south of Perugaṉūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Pālaiyūr. Pālaiyūr is west of Tiruppaṭṭūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Nayadhīramaṅgalam.

—Tiṅgaḷūr.

Pirammilinallūr-kaṇḍam

—Iṟaiyāñchēri.

—Pirammilinallūr of this region appears to have been the other name of modern Peruvaḷanallūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

Kāṉakkiḻiyūr-Nāḍu.

—Kāṉakkiḻiyūr of this *Nāḍu* is Kāṉakkiḻiyanallūr on the east bank of the Nandiyār river in the Lalgudi taluk, west of Tappay.

—Uḻuttambāḍi.

—S'iṟuvaḷaippūr. A Peruvaḷaippūr is on the west bank of the Nandiyār river and north of Kāṉakkiḻiyanallūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Thattaṉkuṟichi. This is Tachchaṉkurchchi west of Kumulūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Neṟkuppai.

Poygai-Nāḍu or *Poygaiyūr-Nāḍu.*

in *Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Vaḍakarai-Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu*
in *Bhuvaṉamuḻuduḍaiya-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Tiribhuvaṉamuḻuduḍaiya-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Ulagamuḻuduḍaiya-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Vaḍakarai-Tyāgavalli-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Geyavinōda-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Ulaguḍaimukkōkiḻānaḍi-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Cōḷa-maṇḍalam.*

—S'rī Nandi (dai) Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. This was the name of Nattamāṅgudi on the west bank of the Nandiyār river in the Lalgudi taluk. It was also known as Madurāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Tirunārāyaṇanallūr was a hamlet of this place and was the name of the part where Ādimūla Perumāḷ temple stands at Nattamāṅguḍi.

—Dantivarmamaṅgalam. This was the old name of Ālampākkam north of Nattamāṅguḍi on the road to Tirumaḻapādi from Ayiṉāpuram in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Tirumaḻapāḍi a *dēvadāṉa* in *Mipalāṟu* of *Poygai-Nāḍu*. Tirumaḻapāḍi is on the west bank of the Coleroon river in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk. It was also known by the names S'rī Gaṇḍarāditta-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Dinacintāmaṇinallūr.

—Kōthandarāmanallūr was the southern hamlet of Tirumaḷapadi. Edirilis'ōḷamaṅgalam, Kulōttuṅgas'ōḷamaṅgalam and Gaṇḍarādittaṉūr were near it.

—Puṉavāvil *alias* Vikramas'ōḷasandimaṅgalam was a *dēvadāna* of Tirumaḷapāḍi. This may be Puṉavāyil west of the Coleroon.

—Kalayamaṅgalam was near Tirumaḷapāḍi.

—Gaṇḍarādittaṉ or Gaṇḍarādittaṉūr. This is Gaṇḍarādittaṉ near Tirumaḷapāḍi in the Udaiyārpalayam taluk.

—S'iṟumaruvūr. This is Maṟuvūr on the north bank of the Kāveri and south of the Coleroon in the adjacent Tañjāvūr taluk.

—Kulamāṇikkam. Kulamāṇikkam is west of Kaṇḍarādittam taluk.

--Nakkapiṟāṉkuṟichi. This may be Aramanaikuṟichi north of Kaṇḍarādittaṉ.

—Amaravikramachchērik Kārikudi. A Kārikuḍi is north of Tiruvaiyāṟu.

—Perumpuliyūr or Perumpuliyūrkuḍi. Perumpuliyūr is north of Tiruneyttānam south-east of Puṉavāsal west of Coleroon, in the Tañjāvūr taluk.

—Maṉarkudi in Perumpuliyūr.

—Ūragaṉkuḍi or Ūraṅguḍi.

—*Mīypalāṟu*

—Ālaiyūr.

—Āṉbaṉūr.

—S'embiyaṉ Kūṟṟūr. Its boundaries were Paiṅgaṇi, Pirāikuḍi, Kumāramaṅgalam, Kīramaṅgalam, Lattuvāṇicheri, Paṅkayachchelvinallūr, Ālappirandanallūr, Pērūr, Sirudavūr and Ninṟiyūr. Of these Kumāramaṅgalam is north-west of Periyamuṟai and east of Muḍikoṇḍān in the Udaiyarpalyam taluk.

—Kūttanguḍi.

—Kadaivāyil.

—Poygai in *Vaḍakarai:Poygai-Nāḍu*. This Poygai or

Poygaiyūr the headquarters of this *Nāḍu* may be identified with modern Poyyūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

—Iḍaikkuḍi or Tiru-Iḍaikkuḍi. This may be Eraguḍi in the same taluk.

—Puṉṟagai.

—Tiruchchiṟṟambalanallūr *alias* Arindaman Kīḻmāṉdūr.

—Periyapākkam.

—Tiruvāṉmiyūr.

—Vaṭṭaḷūrkuḍi.

—Tiruvaiyāṟu. Tiruvaiyāṟu is on the north bank of the Kāveri and east of Tiruneyttānam in the Tañjāvūr taluk.

—Tiruneyttānam, a *dēvadāna* in *Kīḻpalāṟu* of *Poygai-Nāḍu*. This is Tillasthanam on the north bank of the Kāveri in the Tañjāvūr taluk.

—S'iṟuvāṇḍūr in *Kīlpaḷāṟu* of *Poygai-Nāḍu*.

—Tirukkarrūr Paṉipadimaṅgalam *alias* Karikālacōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Tirukkarūr was the old name of Vishnampet in the west of the Kāveri and east of the Coleroon. Paṉipadimaṅgalam is probably Pavaṉamaṅgalam east of Vishnampet.

Miṟai-Kūṟṟam. (Miṟai is spelt also as *Miḷai* or *Viḷai* or *Viṟai*.)

in *Vaḍakarai Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu*.

in *Vaḍakarai Rājēndrasiṁha-vaḷanāḍu*.

in *Rājēndracōḷa-vaḷanāḍu*.

in *Geyavinōda-vaḷanāḍu*.

in *Ulaguyyavandas'ōḻa Vaḷanāḍu*.

in *Vikramas'ōḻa-vaḷanāḍu*.

—Viṟai *alias* Akaḷaṅkapuram.

—Miṟai. This was the centre of this division and may be identified with Periya Muṟai on the north bank of the Coleroon in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

—Kāmavalli or Kāmadavalli or Kāmaravalli or Kāra-valli or Kāmadavalli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. This is Kāmarasavalli on the north bank of the Coleroon in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

—Pondāyil.

—Tirunallūr in Kāmaravalli-chaturvedimaṅgalam.

—Rāmaṉūr. This is Ramanallūr on the bank of the Coleroon in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

—Pārthivas'ēkhara-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Dēvaṅgudi. Dēvaṅgudi is south of the Coleroon in the Papanasam taluk.

—Maṉalūr. Maṉalūr is south of Dēvaṅgudi in the Papanasam taluk.

—Umbaḷappāḍi. Umbaḷappāḍi is in the north of the Kāveri and west of the Maṇṇi river in the Papanasam taluk.

—Tiṅgaḷūr. Tiṅgaḷūr is above Tiruppaḷaṉam in the Tañjāvūr taluk.

—Tiruppaḷaṉam. Tiruppaḷaṉam is in the Tañjāvūr taluk.

—Kalappākkuḍi or Kalappāḷkuḍi.

—Poṉkālkuḍi.

—Sāttamaṅgalam. Sāttamaṅgalam is in the Tañjāvūr taluk.

—Taḷakuḍi in *Miṟai-Nāḍu* in the *south of Kāveri*. Taḷakkuḍi is north-east of Tiṭṭai and Tañjāvūr, on the north bank of the Veṭṭāṟu and south of the Kāveri, in the Tañjāvūr taluk.

—Koḍiyālam *alias* Vikramas'ōḷansandinallūr.

—Tiraimūr *alias* Tiyāgavinōdaṉ Āṟṟūr.

Kuṉṟa-Kūṟṟam in *Uttaṅgatuṅga-vaḷanaḍu*.

—in *Rājēndrasimha-vaḷanaḍu*.

—*Kuṉṟappaṟṟu* in *Kuṉṟa-kūṟṟam*.

—*Kuṉṟappaṟṟu*, *Paḷuvūr-paṟṟu* and *Ugaḷūr-paṟṟu* in *Uttuṅgattuṅga-vaḷanāḍu*.

—*Kuṉṟra-kūṟṟam alias Uttuṅgatuṅga-vaḷanāḍu*.

—*Kuṉṟakūṟṟa-Nāḍu*.

—Kuṉṟam of this *Nāḍu* and *Kūṟṟam* is modern Kuṉṉam in the Perambalur taluk.

—Kūṟṟūr. Kūṟṟūr is Kūttūr in the south of Kuṉṉam

Another Kūttūr is in the adjoining part of the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

—Kūṟṟūr. Kūṟṟūr is north of Ariyalūr.

—Paḻuvūr, Maṉṉuperum-Paḻuvūr or Perum-Paḻuvūr. Paḻuvūr is on the road from Kumbakonam to Jayaṅgoṇḍas'oḻapuram in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk. Perum-Paḻuvūr is Mēlappaḻuvūr in the same taluk. Paḻuvūr was also called Avaṉisundarapuram, Uttama dāni-chaturvēdimaṅgalam and Rājēndras'ōḻanallūr.

—S'iṟupaḻuvūr. It was also called Tiruppaḻuvūr, and it is identical with Kīḻappaḻuvūr on the road from Tañjāvūr to Perambalūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

—Veṭṭaguḍi. Veṭṭaguḍi is south of Kīḻappaḻuvūr.

—Aiyankuḷam and Seṅguḷam were near Kīḻappaḻuvūr.

—Mēchchaṅkuḷam, a hamlet of Perumpaḻuvūr.

—Karuviḍaimaṅgalam.

—Taṭṭaiyūr and Kurugāḍi were near Mēlappaḻuvūr.

—Ara inallūr. This is Aranūr on the bank of Marudaiyāṟu, east of Poyyūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

—Iṟaikuḍi. This may be Eraguḍi north of Veṭṭaguḍi.

—Mallūr. Mallūr is north-west of Poyyūr and north of Kiḻappaḻuvūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

—Viraikkudi.

—Vāraṇavāsi, S'iṟugāvūr, Kallagam, Tuḍar and Kuriñjippadi in Uttuṅgatuṅga-vaḷanāḍu. Vāraṇavāsi is north of Mallūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk. S'iṟugavūr is S'iṟugavūr in the north-west of Poyyūr in the same taluk. Kallagam is on the west bank of the Āṇḍi Ōḍai river on the road from Pullambāḍi to Kiḻappaḻuvūr in the Lalgudi taluk. Kuriñjippadi is north-west of Ariyalūr in the Perambalur taluk.

Vikkirama-Vaḷanāḍu

—Ambāpuram or Ambāppur south-west of Udaiyarpalayam was the other name of Vikkiramam and was the centre of the division called *Vikkirama-vaḷanāḍu.* Vikkiramam was the shortened form of its other name Vikkiramacōḷapuram.

—*Kaṭṭaḷai-Nāḍu*. This was the name of the region south of Vikkiramam, lying on either bank of the Marudaiyāṟu and Iḍaiyāttaṅgudi in this subdivision is Edayāttaṅguḍi on the south bank of the Marudaiyāṟu and east of Poyyūr, the headquarters of ***Poygai-Nāḍu***, and north-east of Kīḻappaḷuvūr in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

Āḍanūr-paṟṟu. This was the name of a division which lay east of Udaiyarpalayam and included Iḍayāru in the Udaiyarpalayam taluk.

Okku-Nāḍu. This was a small division which lay to the east of Udaiyarpalayam and south-west of Iḍayār. Its centre was Okkunattam south-west of Iḍayār. In it was Pulichchakkuḷi south-east of Udayarpalayam, which had the earlier name of Ādittanallūr.

Udaiyarpalayam, the taluk headquarters was called Payaraṇis'varapuram, which is a corruption of the name Piraiyaṇīs'varapuram. The name is still preserved in Paraṇam a suburb of Udaiyarpalayam.

Ugaḷūr-Kūṟṟam

in *Vaḍakarai Rājasimha-vaḷanāḍu*.

in *Vadakarai-Mudikoṇdas'ōḷa-vaḷanādu*.

—Ugaḷūr of this *Kūṟṟam* is modern Ogaḷūr on the south bank of the Veḷḷāṟu in the Perambalūr taluk.

—Āduturai or Tirukkuraṅgāḍuturai or Iṟaiyaṉpuñjai. This is Āḍuturai in the south of the Veḷḷāṟu and north of Ogaḷūr in the Perambalūr taluk.

—Kaḻaṉivāy.

—Karpūṇḍi in Tirujñānasambandanallūr.

—Muḍikoṇḍāṉ. This is north of Tirumāṉūr on the road from Kiḻappaḷuvūr to Tañjāvūr.

—Kurumbarvāy. This is modern Paravāy in the Perambalūr taluk, south of the Chiṉṉāru and north-east of Kuṉṉam.

Vembār-Nāḍu

—Vembār. This is Vembāvūr on the banks of the Kallāṟu in the Perambalūr taluk.

—*Kīḻ-Kūṟu*—Parākramapāṇḍiyanallūr.

—Kaḷaṉivāy or Kaḷaṉivāsal.

—*Mēl-Kūṟu-Nāḍu.*

Perambalūr-Nāḍu.

—Perambalūr. This is Perambalūr, the headquarters of the taluk of that name.

Mūlai-Nāḍu

—This seems to be the name of the division round Mullaiyūr in the Perambalūr taluk.

Ūṟṟattūr-Nāḍu

in *Rājarāja-vaḷanādu.*

in *Vaḍakarai Rājarāja-vaḷanāḍu*

in *Vaḍakarai Tiribhuvaṉamuḻuduḍaiya-vaḷanādu.*

—Ūṟṟattūr. This is Ūttattūr in the Lalgudi taluk. The other name of this place was Tiruttōṟṟatturai.

—Neṟkuḷam. This is modern Neykuḷam south of Ūttattūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Nambikkurichi *alias* S'rīkaṇṭa-caturvēdimaṅgalam. This is Nambakkurichi south-east of Ūttattūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

Viḷattūr-Nāḍu

—Nagaikkumāṅguḍi *alias* Rājēndracōḷapuram.

—Tiruppaḷuvūr. This is Paḷūr south-east of Maṇachchanallūr in the Lalgudi taluk. It also bore the name of Rājēndras'ōḷanallūr.

—Kāraikkuḍi.

—Ēnādimaṅgalam.

Viḷā-Nāḍu or *Viḷā-Nāḍu.*

in *Mī-Kūṟu* of *Muttaraiyar-Nāḍu.*

in *Pāṇḍikulās'aṇi-vaḷanāḍu,*

in *Dīnacintāmaṇi-vaḷanādu.*

—Kūkūrkkūkūr. Kūkūr is on the north bank of the Coleroon in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Mummuḍis'ōḷamaṅgalam Mummuḍis'ōḷamaṅgalam is east of Lalgudi.

—Paḷuvūr. Paḷuvūr is Paḷūr in the south-east of Maṇachchanallūr in the Lalgudi taluk.

—Oṟṟiyūr.

—Tiruvaraṅgam. This is S'rīraṅgam in the island between the Coleroon and the Kāveri.

—Kōdaṇḍarāma-chaturvēdimaṅgalam in Tiruvaraṅgam Tirupathi.

—Tiruvāṉaikkā. This is Jambukēs'varam east of S'rīraṅgam.

—Malari *alias* S'rīkaṇṭa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Tiruveṟumbiyūr *alias* S'rīkaṇṭa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Tiruveṟumbiyūr is Tiruveṟumbūr in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.

—Peruvaṅgūr.

—Murukkūr, a hamlet of Uttamas'īli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Murukkūr is south of Veṇṇāṟu opposite to Uttamas'ēri and north of Tiruveṟumbūr in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.

—Uttams'ili-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. This is modern Uttamas'ēri south-east of Tiruppalātturai in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.

—Tiruppāṟṟurai or Tirupparāytturai. This is Tirruppalātturai near Uttamas'ēri.

—Nāgalamahādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. This is Nāgavēli south-west of Murukkūr.

—S'ōḻamahādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. This is S'ōḻamādēvi south of Tiruveṟumbūr.

—Melālakuḍi and Ērikumbakuḍi, hamlets of S'ōḻamahādēvi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Karumāngurai *alias* Parakēs'arimaṅgalam, a hamlet of Uttamas'īli-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Tiruppaṉambūdūr. This is Paṉaiyapuram west of Tiruppalātturai and Uttamas'ēri.

—*Mī-Kōḻai-Nāḍu* — Nelvāyil.

—Mūlaṅguḍi. Mūlaṅguḍi is in the region south of Muttaras'anallūr.

The above noted references and the location of the places in the west and east of Uṟaiyūr prove that *Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam* was included in *Viḻā-Nāḍu*,

Uṟaiyūr-kūṟṟam

in *Kēraḷāntaka-vaḷanāḍu*

in *Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu*

in *Teṉkarai-Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu*

in *Rājamahēndra-vaḷanāḍu*

in *Maḻai-Nāḍu* in *Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu*

Uṟaiyur-Nāḍu

—Tiru-Uṟaiyūr or Kōḻi. Uṟaiyūr is modern Oreyur in the north of the Fort at Tiruchirappalli.

—Atiguṇakaṟpagaṉūr was near Uṟaiyūr.

—S'iṟukaṉṉamaṅgalam.

—Tiruchchirāppaḷḷi at S'iṟṟambar. Tiruchirappalli is the headquarters of the district of that name. S'iṟṟambar was its other name.

—Tirukkaṟkudi in Nandipaṉmamaṅgalam. This was the name of Uyyakkondan Tirumalai south-west of Tiruchirappalli. Nandipaṉmamaṅgalam was its other name.

—S'ēñalūr *alias* Rājās'raya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—S'iṟukarainallūr near Kaṟkuḍi.

—Peruṅguḍi a hamlet of Rājās'raya-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. Peruṅgudi is east of Uyyakkondan Tirumalai.

—Vaḍavūr. Vaḍavūr is north of Tiruchirappalli.

—Koṟṟamaṅgalam Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷanallūr. Koṟṟamaṅgalam is south-east of Puṅgaṉūr and south-west of Tiruchirappalli junction.

—Vayalūr. This was the name of Kumāravayalūr in the east of Muḷḷikkuṟumbūr. Mēlavayalūr and Kīḻavayalūr are near it.

—Muḷḷikkuṟumbu in Yeṭṭaraittaḷi. Muḷḷikkuṟumbūr is south-east of Kulamaṇi and Yeṭṭaraittaḷi is Yeṭṭorai south of Kulamaṇi and north-west of Muḷḷikkuṟumbūr.

—Āḍavattūr. Āḍavattūr is south of Muḷḷikkuṟumbūr.

—Pulivalam. Pulivalam is north-east of Kulamaṇi.

—Tiruchchendurai in Īs'ānamaṅgalam. Tiruchchendurai is on the south bank of the Kāveri in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.

Īs'ānamaṅgalam *alias* Virudarājabhayaṅkra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Mūlaṅguḍi. Mūlaṅguḍi is east of Kulamaṇi.

—Pērūr. Pērūr is east of Mūlaṅguḍi on the road to Oreyur.

—Viḍēlviḍugumaṅgalam. This was in the vicinity of Tiruchchendurai. It was probably west and south of Īs'ānamaṅgalam.

—Dēvadānam Tiruvaḍaguḍi. It was a part of Allūr.

—Allūr. Allūr is on the south bank of the Kāveri and east of Tiruchchendurai. The region round Allūr was called *Aḷa-Nāḍu*

—Tirukkuḷirmaṇi *alias* Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷapuram. This is modern Kōvil Kulamaṇi in the north of Yeṭṭorai on the road to Tiruchchendurai. Kulamaṇi is just south of it. Mēla Kulamaṇi is west of it.

—Parātturai in Īs'ānamaṅgalam. Tirupparātturai is on the south bank of the Kāveri west of Andanallūr.

—Koḍiyālam. Kodiyālam is south-west of Andanallūr.

—Kūḍalūr. Gūḍalūr is south of Muttaras'anallūr.

—Ariñjigai-chaturvēdimaṅgalam or Naṅgaipiramadēyam. This is modern Naṅgavaram in the Kuḷittalai taluk.

—Kīḻmāndūr Paruvūr *alias* Uttamas'ili-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. This is Uttamas'ēri east of Tiruppalātturai.

—Tiruppaṇambūdūr. This is Paṇayapuram west of Tiruppalātturai.

—Nāvalūr. Nāvalūr is on the west bank of Ariyāvūr river in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.

—Talaivāyppāḍi.

—Nāṉalūr.

—Karuppūr. Periya Karuppūr and S'iṟiya Karuppūr are south of Tiruchchendurai.

—Paruttikkuḍi *alias* Tambikkiṉiyanallūr.

—Maṇakkudi Sendāmaraikkaṇṇanallūr *alias* Gaṅgayaṇpēṭṭai.

—Vīratāvaḷam. This may be Vīrēs'varam north of Cintamani in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.

—Jagadēkavīra-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Jayaṅgoṇḍas'ōḷanallūr the western hamlet of Cōḷanpārai in the Tiruchirapplli taluk.

—Tūvēlimaṅgalam.

Kiḷiyūr-Nāḍu

in *Pāṇḍikulās'ani-vaḷanāḍu.*

in *Pāṇḍyakulapathi-vaḷanāḍu*

—Kiḷiyur.

—Puḷiyaṅguḍi.

—Māraṉēri.

—Kārimaṅgalam.

—S'iṟudavūr.

—Kaḷikkuḍi.

—Andavanallūr or Andavanallūr Tiruvālandurai. This is Andanallūr on this south bank of the Kāveri and west of Jīyapuram and Tiruchchenddurai in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.

—Tiruvāṉaikkā. This is Jambukēs'varam east of S'rīraṅgam.

—Kuṟuchchi. A Kaḍiyakuṟichi is south-east of Andanallūr.

—Kīḷmāndūr.

—*Kīḻ-Kūṟu.*

Puṟakkiḷiyūr-Nāḍu

in *Pāṇḍikulās'ani-vaḷanāḍu.*

—Nāṅgūr.

—Pūlāṅgu or Pūlaṅguḍi. Pūlaṅguḍi is south-west of Tiruneḍuṅgulam in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.

—Kiḷamāndūr.

—Sūraikkuḍi. Sūraikuḍi is east of Aḷundūr on the road from Virālimalai to Tiruchirappalli.

—S'ākkai.

—Puṅganūr or Puṉkaṇṇūr. Puṅgaṉūr is west of Tiruchirappalli junction.

—Pāmbar.

—Mēṟkaḍambanguḍi.
—Kāmadamaṅgalam.
—Kaḷḷikuḍi. Kaḷḷikuḍi is south of Puṅgaṉūr.

Teṉ-Puṟakkiḷiyur-Nāḍu.
—Puṉkaṇṇūr. Puṅgaṉūr is west of the Tiruchirappalli junction.

Agakkiḷiyūr-Nāḍu
in *Pāṇḍikulās'ani-vaḷanāḍu.*
—Peruṅguḍi. A Peruṅguḍi is west of Uyyakkondan Tirumalai.

Sūralūr-kūṟṟam
in *Kēraḷantaka-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Teṉkarai Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu.*
—Rājēndras'ōḷappēttai. This was the old name of Pēṭṭai Vāyttalai in the south of the Kāveri in the Tiruchirappalli taluk. It is also north-east of Nangavaram of Kulittalai taluk.
—Kīḷāraivayal. This is Kīḷa—Vayalūr.
—Periya Veṇmaṇi. This is modern Perugumaṇi west of Tirupparāytturai in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.
—S'ōḷa-uttama-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

Kōḍu or *Kōṭṭu-Nāḍu*
Mīy-Kōḍu-Nāḍu or *Mīy-Kōṭṭu-Nāḍu.*
in *Kēralāntaka-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Rājamahēndra-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Teṉkarai Rājamahēndra-vaḷanāḍu.*
in *Śarvalōkāśraya-vaḷanāḍu.*

Kōṭṭu-Nāḍu
—Sāttamaṅgalam. This may be Satyamaṅgalam in the Kuḷittalai taluk. It also bore the name Kulas'ēkhara-nallūr.

Mīy-Kōḍu or *Mīy-Kōṭṭu-Nāḍu*
—Taṉaḍlai.

—Rājēndras′ōḻappēṭṭai.

—Kuḷittaṇḍalai. This is Kuḷittalai on the bank of the Kāveri and the headquarters of the taluk.

—Kuḷittalai is said to be in *Kuṟumbūr-Nāḍu.*

—Karuṅgilāppaḷḷi. This may be Karungarappaḷḷi east of Satyamaṅgalam in the Kuḷittalai taluk.

—Mattēri. This may be Kīḻ and Mēl Kumattēri on the bank of the Puṅgār river in the Kuḷittalai taluk.

—Valladamaṅgalam. This may be Vallam - in the Kuḷittalai taluk.

—Gaṉapatinallūr.

—Madurāntaka-Īs′varam *alias* S′rī Kailāsam *alias* Rājēndras′ōḻapaṭṭinam. This was the name of Mahādānapuram on the south bank of the Kāveri in the Kuḷittalai taluk.

—Paḻaya S′ayadam. This is old Jayaṅgoṇdas′ōḻapuram, a hamlet of Mahādānapuram in the Kuḷittalai taluk. It is south of Mahādānapuram.

Kuṟunagar-Nāḍu or *Kuṟunagai-Nāḍu* in *Rājagambhīra-vaḷanāḍu*

—S′ivapādas′ēkharapuram. This is modern S′ivāyam in the Kuḷittalai taluk. This was near Vīras′ōḻa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam of *Tāṭṭaiyūr-Nāḍu.*

—Māṇikkamalai. This is Ratnagiri in the Kuḷittala taluk.

—Koḍukkayam.

—Kumattēri. Mēl and Kīḻ Kumattēri are on the bank of the Puṅgār river in the Kuḷittalai taluk.

—Sāttamaṅgalam. This may be Satyamaṅgalam north of Ratnagiri.

—Varagūr. Varagūr is west of Ratnagiri. Another Varagūr is west of Nāgaṉūr in the same taluk.

—Kuṟunagai. This may be identified with Nāgaṉūr near Tōgaimalai in the Kuḷittalai taluk. It was the centre of the division.

—Tiruvāṭpōkki. This is Ratnagiri.

Ādaṉūr-Nāḍu

in *Kēraḷāntaka-vaḷanāḍu.*

in *Abhimānajīva-vaḷanāḍu.*

—S'ōḻakulamāṇikka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam. This was the name of Mahādānapuram in the Kuḷittalai taluk.

—Iḷanagar.

Taṭṭai-Nāḍu or *Taṭṭaikaḷa-Nāḍu* or *Taṭṭaiya-Nāḍu* or *Taṭṭaiyūr-Nāḍu*

in *Kēraḷāntaka-vaḷanāḍu.*

—Vīras'ōḷa-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Sāttaṉūr.

—Kṣatriyas'ikhāmaṇi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam.

—Tirumūkkuḍal. This is Tirumukkūḍalūr in the junction of the Amarāvati and the Kāveri rivers in the Karūr taluk.

—Dēvanappaḷḷi. This was the other name of S'ōmūr west of Tirumukkūḍalūr in the Karūr taluk.

—Rāmagiri.

SURROUNDING REGIONS

Kappiñji-Nāḍu

This was the name of part of Maruṅgāpuri Zamin in the Tiruchirappalli District.

Kavira-Nāḍu

in *Pāṇḍikulās'ani-vaḷanāḍu*

Vaḍa-Kavira-Nāḍu

—Tiruneḍuṅguḷam. Tiruneḍuṅgulam is in the west of Tiruveṟumbūr in the Tiruchirappalli taluk.

—Tiruveṟumbiyūr. This is Tiruveṟumbūr on the road from Tiruchirappalli to Tañjāvūr.

Teṉ-Kavira-Nāḍu

—Tirugōkarṇam. This is in Pudukottai State.

—Tiruveḷpūr.

Vaḍa-Kōnāḍu.

Muḍiyakkudi-Nāḍu or *Mudus'oṛkudi-Nāḍu*

—Kaḍuvangudi. This was the old name of Pūrattukōyil in the south-west of Maṇappārai in the Kuḷittalai taluk. It was made up of two parts called MēlakKaḍuvaṅguḍi and KīḻaikKaḍuvaṅguḍi.

—Poygai. Poygai is Poygaipaṭṭi south-west of Pūrattukōyil and south of Maṇappārai in the same taluk.

THE CHRONOLOGY OF EVENTS IN THE SILAPPADHIKARAM

BY M. RAJA RAO, M.A.

MY approach to the study of the problem of the date of composition of the *S'ilappadhikāram* and the chronology of events narrated therein is that of the student of astronomy. This question has been ably tackled, during the last forty years, by historians, philosophers, philologists and astronomers alike. These scholars selected those aspects of the problem that appealed to them and based their inferences on them. Tradition asserts that Ilango-Adigal, the author of the *S'ilappadhikāram*, was a contemporary and collaborator of Mathurai Kūlavaṇikan S'āttan, the author of the twin epic, *Maṇimekhalai*. Each secured the assistance and approval of the other as acknowledged in the two *padikams* (prefaces). The author of the *Maṇimekhalai* is generally equated to S'īttalai S'āttanār, one of the Sangam poets. Ilango-adigal, the ascetic prince, was the younger brother of Senguttuvan, the king of Cēra. It was he, who, on his return from a North Indian expedition, consecrated the Temple of Pattinis at which ceremony Gajabāhu, the king of Ceylon, was also present. According to tradition, therefore, Ilango-Adigal and Kūlavaṇikan S'āttan *alias* S'īttalai S'āttanār, were contemporaries of Kovalan and Kannaki. They lived and wrote in the Second Century A.D.

Scholars of Tamil literature are not agreed regarding the chronology of the Sangam poets. Their estimates range from the commencement of the Christian Era down to the Eighth Century A.D. The philosophers contend that the *Maṇimekhalai* could have been composed about the end of the Fifth Century A.D. after Dinnāga had propounded his doctrines and his disciples had elaborated them. Astronomers proclaim that the mention of the weekday Friday, in the *S'ilappadhikāram* makes it impossible to assign it a date earlier than the Fifth Century A.D. because the earliest authentic inscriptional evidence for the use of weekdays is found only in

the Budhagupta inscription of A.D. 484. Thus on separate grounds, the philosopher and the astronomer join hands in assigning the composition of the twin epics to the latter half of the Fifth Century A.D. The possibility of their being correct cannot be ruled out.

In an article contributed to the D. R. Bhandārkar Memorial volume, Dr. B. C. Law mentions that, when Fa Hien visited Ceylon, he discovered the Indian priest, Guṇabhadra, reciting scriptures, about the transmigrations of the alms-bowl of Buddha from country to country—which is also one of the main themes of the epic, *Maṇimekhalai*. Assuming that the author of the epic was not a contemporary of the events that he describes, he must have selected the materials of his story from the same traditional sources as Guṇabhadra himself. Obviously the origin of this tradition must date back far prior to the early Fifth Centuty A.D. *i.e.* the era of Guṇabhadra and Fa Hien (435 A.D.).

In his comprehensive introduction to the study of *Maṇimekhalai in Its Historical Setting*, Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar gives a clear analysis of the three-fold function of an author. The author might describe the events that were contemporaneous with himself, or else he might attempt to draw for us a picture of a bygone age according to his own conception of it or in the last instance he might weave out an entirely fanciful picture—the product of his own imagination. To produce a verisimilitude of contemporaneity of himself with the events of his story he might adopt a pseudo-autobiographical style—identifying himself with the Ilango-Adigal of tradition or with S'ītalai S'āttanār of the Sangam fame. The mention of *Ṛṣabham* (*Edapam*) as the name of a solar month presupposes a knowledge of the *Rāsi* system as the part of the author of the *Maṇimekhalai*. The author of the *S'ilappadhikāram* uses the Tamil names—*Ccittirai* and *Ādi* which are obviously Tamilised forms of the Saṁskṛt terms—*Caitra*, *Āṣāḍha* etc. Examined from this stand-point, the *S'ilappadhikāram* belongs to a period anterior to that of the *Maṇimekhalai*. Either the two authors lived at different periods or the earlier edition of the *Maṇimekhalai* consisting merely of the romantic story of the miraculous alms-bowl was expanded by the addition of the philosophical material by a later author who either bore the same surname

or choose the same pen-name as the first author of the poem—who might be the Tamdamil Āsān, S'āttan, the great Tamil scholar mentioned in Canto XXV of the *S'ilappadhikāram* (*kacci-kādai* lines 64-66). The *padikams* which resemble the introductory cantos of the *Mahābhārata* and the *Rāmāyaṇa* are obviously later additions—though not necessarily far removed in time from the original texts. They furnish excellent summaries of the two epics. Anachronisms of authors bearing the same pen-names are quite common.

The attempt to assign a historical date to the composition of the *S'ilappadhikāram* is beset by a number of uncertain factors. If we accept the proposition that Ilango-Adigal and Kūlavaṇikan S'āttan were contemporaries, whatever date is assigned to the latter will automatically apply to the former also. If we infer that they lived at different times, each of them could be assigned a separate date of his own based on textual and other evidences. The *S'ilappadhikāram* adopts the same classification of dramatic composition as the *Nātyas'āstra* of Bharata. Of the four *vṛttis*, three are mentioned by name *Bhārati*, *Sāttvati* and *Ārbhaṭi*. The *Kaisiki* is omitted. The *Kātturai* (summary or epilogue), at the end of the Puhār Kāndam, mentions *Bhārati* to be the ruling element of that Kāndam. The *Kātturai* at the end of the Katturai Kādai of the Madurai Kāndam mentions the twin *vṛttis*, *Sāttvati* and *Ārbhaṭi*, as dominating that Kāndam. It is evident that Ilango-Adigal had a knowledge of Bharata's work. So Ilango lived after Bharata. Whatever date might be assigned to Bharata, Ilango's would be later than Bharata's.

The musical instruments referred to in the text are the *Yāl* (*Yāzh*), the flute and the drum. *Yāzh*, as differentiated from the fretted *Vīna* was of the harp pattern, embodying a number of improvements over the primitive variety, the *Ambhana*. The *Ambhana* had a boat-like belly covered by a piece of leather with holes for seven strings. A curved neck or stem was attached to the belly and one end of the wires was fastened to it. The other end passing through the hole was attached to the inside of the belly. The wires were sounded with a plectrum. The *Yāzh* was provided with pegs and screws for tuning the wires. (*Vide* Ānanda

Coomarasāmy, *Journal of the American Oriental Society*, 1930-31 and also *Guttila Jātaka* No. 256.) Mādhavi had acquired mastery over the complicated technique of playing on the instrument which is similar to that detailed in the *Nātyas'ātra* of Bharata. From the view point of the musician the *S'ilappadhikāram* could have been produced at any time between the Second and the Fifth Century A.D. The contemporaneity of the authors of the twin epics would still hold good, even though it were later than the traditional date by three hundred years.

The earliest attempt to assign a historical date to the author of the *S'ilappadhikāram* was made by Dewan Bahadur L.D. Swāmikaṇṇu Pillay, the talented compiler of the Indian Ephemeris. In the article that has been reprinted in Vol. I. part I of the Ephemeris, he advocated the date, 756 A.D. His pioneer discussions paved the way for others. He based his arguments on the calendar of events drawn up by Adiyārku Nallār. In the article published in the 'Christian College Magazine, Madras', for September-October 1917, K.G. Sesha Ayyar refuted Swāmikaṇṇu Pillay and proposed the date, 171 A.D. In the article published in Volume VIII of *QJMS* (pp. 34-60), K. G. Shankar attacked the views of his predecessors and put forward the date 157 A.D. Mahāmahōpādhyaya S. Kuppusami Sastri compared the Buddhistic philosophy of the *Maṇimekhalai* with the doctrines of Dinnāga and his disciples and came to the conclusion that the *Maṇimekhalai* must have been composed during the interim period between Dinnāga and Dharmakīrti (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Vol. I. pp. 191-201). Dr. S. Krishnaswami Ayyangar discussed the problem in full detail and gave out his opinion that the views of Dinnāga must have been independently anticipated by the author of the *Maṇimekhalai* which might have been composed a century earlier than Dinnāga whose date was still a matter of speculation. In his learned article in the *Educational Review*, Madras, for February-April 1929, Professor V. Rangācārya proposed the date 500 A.D. for the *S'īlappadhikāram*. He argued that the system of worshipping images in public temples was a feature of the post-Gupta period. V. R. Rāmachandra Dīkṣitar ably discussed the views of his predecessors in his book, *Studies in Tamil*

Literature, pp. 72-85. In the special appendix to his English translation of the *S'ilappadhikāram*, Dīkṣitar advocated the year 174 A. D. basing his decision on the synchronism of Gajabāhu, king of Ceylon, with Senguttuvan of the Sangam fame. I do not propose to examine the view of all these scholars here. I refer the kind reader to the original articles themselves. So far as the historical references are concerned, neither the *S'ilappadhikāram* nor the *Maṇimekhalai* mention—even obviously—the Pallava rule at Kāñchī which began about 300 A.D. and continued down to 1,000 A D. The life story of Kovalan and Kannaki belongs undoubtedly to the Second Century A.D. Does it apply to the author also ?

In a paper contributed to the *Kane Memorial Volume*, K.G. Sankar assigned the date A.D. 196 for the Sangam age basing his argument on the disposition of the planetary positions contained in a verse of the *Paripādal*. On page 385, he stresses the fact that upto the time of S'rīpathi 1039 A.D. only mean motions of Sun, Moon, and the planets were employed. He mentions an additional Gajabāhu of Ceylon who was a contemporary of S'rī Sangabodhi (245-247 A.D.). This synchronism furnishes for the *S'ilappadhikāram* one more date, A.D. 252.

The twin epics are stories of three cities and three river civilisations. The *S'ilappadhikāram* describes Puhār, Madhurai and Vanji and three rivers Kāvērī, Vaigai and An-poruni. The *Maṇimekhalai* concerns itself mainly with Puhār, Vanji and Kāñchī and contains numerous references to overseas countries to which Buddhism had spread. The transmigrations of the miraculous alms-bowl of Buddha take us on an oceanic trip to the Malayan Archipelago and Indonesia. The descriptions are too vague for definite identification.

All those scholars that have based their arguments on the chronological data contained in the *S'ilappadhikāram* have started on the assumption that Adiyārku Nallār's programme of events was faulty. They have all been unfair to the learned commentator. The scheme of weekdays, *tithis* and nakṣatras that he has drawn up is completely sound. We should not foist on him our Twentieth Century standards of astronomical investigations. Upto the times of Adiyārku Nallār himself, the Jainas were content with the

approximations of the mean-time five year cycle of the *Sūryaprajnapti* and the *Kālaloka Prakās'a*. Upto the year 1756 A.D. the Burmans were satisfied with a mean-time *Sūrya siddhānta* known as *Makaranda*. It was based on the nineteen-year metonic cycle of seven intercalary months and ordinary years of twelve mean-time months of alternately twenty-nine and thirty days that were tied up with a mean solar year of about 365.25 days. The intercalary month was the same month *Tagu* (*vide Indian Antiquary*, 1912. The Burmese and Arakanese Calendar: Sir Alfred Irwin). Even in India, side by side with the true system, the mean solar system was in vogue upto the age of S'rīpathi (A.D. 1040) and probably for a century later also until *Bhāskarācārya's* system came into use (1150 A.D.) (*vide The Indian Calendar* by Sewell and Dikshit. pp. 27; Table I upto 1100 A.D.). Adiyārku Nallār lived about 1120 A.D. the date of his patron, Boppanna the general of Hoysala Viṣṇuvardhana. The mean system continued upto his times also. The mean system ignores the vagaries in the motions of the Sun and the Moon due to the ellipticities and inclinations of their orbits. The true system takes into account all these irregularities, introduces necessary corrections. The *Paitamaha Siddhānta* which was almost identical with the *Vedānga Jyotiṣa*, the Jaina and the Atharva *Pariśiṣṭha* systems, was in use upto the times of Varāhamihira, 500 A.D.

The epic centres round the fortunes of three individuals—one man and two women—constituting the eternal triangle. Kovalan, the son of a rich merchant, falls in love with Mādhavi, an accomplished dancing-girl and neglects his wife, Kannaki. He lives with Mādhavi untill all his wealth and even the jewels of his wife are spent. A daughter, *Maṇimekhalai*, is born to them. When the child is about five years old, Kovalan realises his folly and his poverty. Reaction sets in. He begins to suspect that Mādhavi has transferred her affections to another rich paramour though in reality Mādhavi continues to be faithful to him. Mādhavi's participation in the Indra festival that year brings the estrangement between them to a climax. Mādhavi gets alarmed and makes a desperate bid to retain his love. At the close of the Indra festival, she induces him to keep her company from dawn to sunset at the

full-moon festival on the sea-shore. Kovalan refuses to accompany her to her house. Mādhavi sends her maid with a special letter of entreaty. Kovalan refuses to go back to her. He returns to his wife and expresses repentance for his neglect of her. She pacifies him and offers her golden anklets to raise the capital required for a fresh attempt to win back the wealth he has lost. He proposes to set himself up as a merchant at Mathurai. Kovalan and Kannaki depart secretly from Puhār at a most inauspicious moment. They travel on foot to Mathurai *via* Tiruchi, a total distance of about two hundred miles. On arrival at Mathurai, Kovalan offers one of the anklets for sale to the King's goldsmith, who contrives to get him killed as a thief to cover his own dishonesty. Kannaki accuses the king of injustice. The king repents his hasty action and falls down dead. His queen also dies of shock. Kannaki pronounces a curse on the city, which gets destroyed by a fire which starts later in the night. Kannaki walks away west from Mathurai in great sorrow and anger. On the fourteenth day she bodily ascends to heaven in a celestial car. Kannaki is deified. A temple housing her image is built and she is worshipped as the Goddess of Chastity. This is the story in outline. The poet furnishes the month, weekday, *tithi* and *nakṣhatra* in regard to the day of Kovalan's death. Similar particulars regarding the other events have to be deduced from clues supplied by the poet. Adiyārku Nallār selects three other events for being dated in full; (1) The day on which the Indra festival began; (2) The date of the sea-shore festival; (3) The date of departure from Puhār. A clear distinction has to be drawn between Adiyārku Nallār's interpretation of the poet's statements and his own personal views regarding the dating of the several events, which are not identical. The *Maṇimekhalai* informs us that the Indra festival was celebrated for twenty-eight days every year. The author of the *Maṇimekhalai*, however, begins the festival on the date on which the *S'ilappadhikāram* obviously ends it. The *S'ilappadhikāram* begins it on the full-moon day in *Citrā nakṣatra*. The *Maṇimekhalai* begins it twenty-eight days later. The *S'ilappadhikāram* unequivocally declares that the Indravila began on the day of *Citrā nakṣatra* in the Tamil month *Ocittirai*. The *Maṇimekhalai*

is equally definite in stating that it began two days before the full-moon in *Vis'ākha nakṣatra* in the Tamil month *Etapam* or *Ṛṣabham*. Both Arumpada-urai-āsiriyar and Adiyārku Nallār, interpret the poet's statement to indicate the full-moon in *Citrā*. The poet is equally definite in stating it was on the night of the next full-moon that Mādhavi prevailed upon Kovalan to accompany her to the sea-shore for taking part in the full-moon festival there. It would be the full-moon day of *Vais'ākha*. Adiyārku Nallār personally favours the *Maṇimekhalai* date, for the festival begins it on *Vais'ākha S'ukla 13*, ends it on *Jeṣṭa S'ukla 11* and assigns *S'ukla* 13 to the sea-shore festival. Kovalan and Kannaki start for Mathurai before dawn on the next day. Adiyārku Nallār differs from the poet on one other point. According to the poet there is an interval of twenty-eight days between the sea-shore festival and the date of Kovalan's departure for Mathurai. Adiyārku Nallār reduces it to a single night. Kovalan parted from Mādhavi at sunset before moon-rise according to the poet. So the lunar date must be *Bahuḷa Pratipad* and not *S'ukla 13*. The allotment of weekdays, lunar *tithis* and *nakṣatras* to the four important event made by Adiyārku Nallār is quite correct. The discrepancy arises in the assignment of Tamil dates. References to Tamil dates are made by Adiyārku Nillār on four separate occasions. Commenting on the opening verses of the *kadalādu kādai*, he remarks that the festival of cupid in Vidyādhara lokam ended on *Panguni 29*, a day of *Citrā nakṣatra*. Usually the festival ends on the full-moon night in *Uttaraphalguṇī nakṣatra*. The Tamil date should be *Panguṇi 29*. Two days later, the Vidyādhara and his wife started for Punār in *Citrā nakṣatra*. The Tamil date would be *Panguṇi 31*. Adiyārku Nallār is wrong in assigning the Tamil date *Panguṇi 29* to the date of starting. The *nakṣatra* is correct. It was *Citrā*. That was why the Vidyādhara told his wife that the festival at Puhār would begin on that day. The poet uses the word *Innal*—this day. The commentator changes the interpretation of the term *Innal* into the statements—a *similar day of Citrā nakṣatra next month*. He allows a period of twenty-eight days for the journey of the Vidyādhara from his city Cēdi to Puhār. This interpretation was

unavoidable for the commentator. According to Adiyārku Nallar, the Vidyādhara started on *Bahuḷa dvitīya* and reached Puhār twenty-eight days later in time for the commencement of the Indra festival on *Citrā* full-moon. Since Adiyārku Nallār assumed that the Vidyādhara started on the last day of *Panguṇi* he was forced to declare that the Puhār festival commenced on the twenty-eighth date of *Ccitirai* on the day of *Citrā* full-moon. Naturally the first of *Ccittirai* would tally with the *Bahuḷa-tritīya* and *Svāti nakṣatra* previous to the full-moon in *Citrā*. According to the poet, the Vidyādhara started on the day of full-moon in *Citrā* and travelled by air to Puhār. The poet makes only two assumptions regarding Tamil dates. The full-moon in *Citrā* was included in the month *Ccittirai*. The day of Kovalan's death was included in the Tamil month *Āḍi*. He did not mind when they began or ended. In all probability the Tamils of the poet's age followed the lunar five year calendar, merely substituting Tamil terms for the Saṁskṛt names of the lunar months because the solar calendar of the *Siddhāntas* came into vogue slowly in the Sixth Century A.D. in some but not all parts of India simultaneously. The poet of the *S'ilappadhikāram* belongs to the pre-Āryabhatta era. The poet's calendar is in complete harmony with the five year *Vedānga Jyautiṣa* calendar of *Amānta* months. The calendar furnished by Adiyārku Nallār in his commentary on the opening verses of the *Nādukān kādai* (canto X) obviously follows the Jaina system of reckoning solar months on the basis of *Paurṇimānta* months. The only two Jaina solar months that commence on *Bahuḷa tritīya* are the second solar months of *Purattāsi* commencing on *Āsvīna Bahuḷa* 3 and the thirty-eighth month of the cycle, *Ccittirai* commencing on *Caitra Bahuḷa tritīya* and *Svāti nakṣtra* as stated by Nallār. The only defect in his scheme turns out to be that the solar *Āḍi* ends on the *Bahuḷa 6* following the full-moon in *Āṣaḍhā*—two days before the *aṣṭami* of the poet. The objection can be got over if the epithet *Āḍi* is applied to the commencement of the *Bahuḷa pakṣa* as an indicator that the *aṣṭami* referred to is that which follows the full-moon—not the previous one. A lunar calendar exactly similar in all respects to that drawn up by Adiyārku Nallār can be had on the *Amānta Vedānga Jyautiṣa* cycle also in the very

first year of the cycle. The solar month, *Caitrā* or *Ccittirai* will commence on *S'ukla tritīya* of *Caitra* instead of *Bahuḷa 3*. The festival will commence on *Citra* full-moon and *aṣṭami* of Kovalan's death will lie within the solar month of *Āḍi*. The poet's stipulations will all be met. The Jaina solar months begin a fortnight earlier than the *Vedānga* months.

The sequences of weekdays allotted to the four important events remains the same both in the Jaina and the *Vedānga* systems. Only the Tamil dates differ. We can retain the Tamil dates of Adiyārku Nallār if we agree to commence the solar-Tamil *Ccittirai* on the *Bahuḷa pratipad* of *Vedānga Caitra*. The solar month begins on the same civil day as the full-moon but the counting begins from the next day. The full-moon day is the last day of *Panguṇi*. The full-moon *nakṣatras* and weekdays remain unchanged. A lunar *tithi* generally begins on one civil day and ends on the next. At the present time the custom is to associate it with the civil day on which it ends after sunrise. What the ancient Tamil custom was we do not know. Whether the *Bahuḷa aṣṭami tithi* began on the Friday of Kovalan's death or ended on it after sunrise, both contingencies should be taken into account. According to Swāmikaṇṇu Pillay, *saptami* ended and *aṣṭami* began in the afternoon of that Friday. According to the Jaina calender *aṣṭami* ended about sunset that Friday. The same remarks apply to the *nakṣatra* also. In general the *tithi* and the *nakṣatra* are those that are actually current at the moment the event occurred—Kovalan's death or the burning of the city of Mathurai in the night. The context determines the interpretation. For example, the poet declares that Kovalan and Kannaki started from Puhār at a most inauspicious moment—during the short interval between moonset and sunrise near the end of *s'uklapakṣa*. As Adiyārku Nallār points out, the lunar *tithi* just ending about that moment or a few hours later must be *S'ukla caturdaṣi* so that the interval between moonset and sunrise should be at least one hour, if not more. The problem of a dark pre-dawn interval does not arise at all if the lunar *tithi* be *Bahuḷa pratipad*. The moon sets only after sunrise and is still full. The minimum time required for the journey on foot from Puhār to Madhurai *via* Tiruchi—a distance of about two hundred

miles—is one month, assuming an average progress of about ten miles per day. The poet says that they progressed about one *kadam* per day between Puhār and Tiruchi over the plain country. Between Tiruchi and Mathurai the route lay through hills and forests and the progress was comparatively slower than one *kadam* per day. Since the date of Kovalan's death was *Bahuḷa aṣṭami* of *Āṣāḍha* the date on which the journey began should be *s'ukla 14* of *Jēṣṭa* if not earlier still. The *nakṣatra* current on that date would naturally be *Jēṣṭā*. The interval between the commencement of the journey and its end at sunset on Friday *bharaṇi* and *aṣṭami* would be thirty-eight *nakṣatras*, thirty-nine *tithis* and thirty-eight and a half civil days. The civil day is generally reckoned from midnight, although the Indian astronomical day usually begins at sunrise. So the civil day of the week on which the journey began must have been a Tuesday. Adiyārku Nallār is reminded of the old Tamil tradition that the combination of Tuesday and *Jeṣṭā nakṣatra* is most inauspicious and a journey commenced under the combination is most likely to end in death. The poet is fully justified in declaring that the journey was begun in *Nās'ya yōga*. The greatness of Adiyārku Nallār lies in his interpretation of the poet so accurately. The absence of both sun and full-moon generally regarded as inauspicious at the moment of starting added to the evil effects. The same evil combination of Tuesday and *Jēṣṭā nakṣatra* occurred twenty-eight days earlier on *Vais'ākha Bahuḷā pratipad* also, but the lunar *tithi* was not that mentioned by the poet. At the end of his commentary furnishing the calendar of events (*Nadukān Kādai Vs.* 1-5) Adiyārku Nallār quotes a passage from Māngudi Marudanār's poem: *Madurai-Kāñchi Vs.* 194 in which the poet declares that the enemies of the king would fade away in the same way as the full-moon that has commenced to wane. The quotation is out of place unless the commentator wished to point out that the Tuesday *Jēṣṭā* combination on *Vais'ākha Bahuḷa pratipad* was as disastrous as that mentioned by the poet. If the Tamil month *Ccittirai* is regarded as commencing a *Bahuḷa Tritīya* preceding the full-moon in *Caitra* then *Vaigā's'i 29* would coincide with *Vais'ākha Bahuḷa 1*, the date under discussion. The date of Kovlan's

death would remain unaltered, but the duration of the journey would be enhanced by twenty-eight days if the Tamil *Ccittirai* should commence at the full-moon in *Citrā*. *Vaigāsi 29*, would coincide with *Jēṣṭa S'ukla 14*, the date ascribed by the poet for the commencement of the journey. The text of the commentary that is now available jumbles up the two versions. Either Adiyārku Nallār drew up alternative calendars or one of them belonged to a predecessor of his. The clue that he should have furnished in his commentary on the prophecy in the *Katturai Kadāi* (XXIII Canto) is unfortunately not discovered yet. Its discovery would be of a great value. Till then let us suspend our judgment on that brilliant analysis of a great scholar and a prince of commentators. The commentary of Adiyārku Nallār on Nādukān Kādai (Canto X, p. 269 of Dr. Swaminathan Aiyar's edition) consists of two parts that are inconsistent with each other. It runs thus: 'In the *Ccittirai* month of that year the opening date (*pukudi nal*) was a day of *svāti nakṣatra*, the third *pakkam* (lunar *tithi*) and a Sunday. On the twenty-eighth of this *Ccittirai* month, the weekday, Saturday, was associated with *Citrā nakṣatra* and the *pūrṇima* (full-moon) *tithi*. On that day the flag was hoisted for the Indra festival which continued for four times seven days (Canto I, verse 8 of *Maṇimekhalai*) and at the close of the festival it was lowered. The first part ends here. The next sentence begins a fresh topic. 'On Monday 28 *Vaigās'i*, on the thirteenth *pakkam* of the bright fortnight and *Anūrādha nakṣatra* the *Kadalādu* feast and the lover's quarrel took place. On the 29 *Vaigās'i* (next day), the weekday Tuesday, fourteenth *pakkam* of *S'ukla pakṣam* and *Jeṣṭā nakṣatra* (*Kettai*) in the *Vaigarai yāmam* before sunrise in the *nās'ya-yōgā* (destructive combination stated above), during the interval between moonset and snnrise (when the Moon had just set in but the Sun had not yet risen) the fateful journey began. It is clear that it was *śukla-pakṣam*. The *Madurai-Kāñchī* verse 194 describes the commencement of the dark fortnight when the full-moon begins to wane (like the enemies of king Nedunjelilan of Madurai who fade away like the waning moon). So it is clear that the poet means the *s'ukla-pakṣam*. Here ends the second part. The interval between *Ccittirai 28* and *Vaigās'i 29*, is at the most

thirty-two days. The interval between the full-moon of *Caitra* and the *S'ukla 14* of *Jēṣṭa* (day of deparature assigned by the poet) should be fifty-eight days, a discrepancy of twenty-eight days. Each solar month on the Jaina or *Vedānga* calendar extends over thirty-one *tithis* or thirty days and a half. If *Ocittirai* is assigned thirty days *Vaigās'i* gets thirty-one days (civil reckoning). If twenty-eighth *Ocittrai* tallies with full-moon in *Citrā*, *Vaigās'i* twenty-ninth will coincide with *Amānta Vais'ākha Bahuḷa 1*, *i.e.* twenty-eight days earlier than *Jēṣṭa S'ukla 14*. The first part is in conformity with the third year cycle of the Jaina five year cycle in which the solar month *Ocittirai* begins on an *Amānta Phālguṇa Bahuḷa 3* and *Svāti nakṣatra*. The weekday is optional and incidental. The second part of the commentary agrees with the calendar of the second year of the *Vedānga Jyotiṣa* cycle in which the solar *Caitra* begins on *Caitra* full-moon. *Ccittirai* ends on *Vais'ākha* full-moon (thirty-one *tithis*) and *Vaigās'i 29* will coincide with *Jēṣṭa S'ukla 14* as stated by the poet and Nallār. It is clear that the text of the commentary is corrupt and defective. Most probably the first part belongs to an earlier commentary quoted by Adiyārku Nallār. It is based on the Jaina calendar. The second part belongs to Adiyārku Nallār himself and follows the *Vedānga* cycle.

The poet's statement is clear and emphatic that the journey began on *S'ukla Caturdasi* of *Jēṣṭa*. How long did it occupy ? The period must be either thirty-eight days and a half or sixty-six days and a half since it began at sunrise on a Tuesday and ended at sunset on a Friday. The Tamil lexicon equates the term *kādam* or *kāvudam* to a distance of ten miles. V.R.R.Dīkṣitar gives it the value : two miles and a half. If we accept the higher rate or progress of one *kādam* per day, the period would be thirty-eight days and a half. If the lower rate is assumed, the period would be sixty-six days and a half. The distance from Puhār to Tiruchi and from Tiruchi to modern Madurai is, in each case, about one hundred miles. The town that was destroyed is referred to in Sangam literature as Kūdal and Māṉamadurai. P. T. Srinivasa Aiyangar suggests that it migh have been a sea-port at the mouth of the Vaigai. I venture to suggest that it must have been a town at the confluence of a tributary

of the Vaigai—either the present Māṇamadurai (Railway Junction or some other town nearer the sea than modern Madurai). The poet clearly mentions that after the destruction of the city, Kannaki travelled west along the south bank of the river until she reached a region of waterfalls and a hill-temple of Subrahmanya. The location of the present city of Madurai answers to the description. We have the Alagharkoil waterfalls and the Tirupurankundram temple of Subrahmanya. Kannaki declares herself as the daughter of the Pāṇḍyan—an epithet frequently applied to the present Goddess Mīnākṣi. Local tradition points out a small temple near the river as the original Pattini temple dedicated to Kannaki. Were the honours later on transferred to Goddess Mīnākṣi? The problem is worth careful research. A full scale map tracing the route followed by Kovalan and also identifying the several other geographical references in the work is a necessity. It is a fascinating problem in itself and might throw light on the age of the work and its author.

The time taken by the journey has an important bearing on the date of Kovalan's death. The shorter period assigns the *Aṣṭami* of *Amānta Āṣāḍha Bahuḷa*. The longer will identify it with *S'rāvaṇa Bahula Aṣṭami*. The choice is determined by the *nakṣatra* assigned to the date. The poet does not give the popular name. He designates it as 'Aḷal-ser-Kuṭṭam.' The lord of *Bharaṇi* is the lord of death and destruction—Yama. The lord of *Krittikas* is Agni, the God of fire and conflagration. The commentator, Arumpada-Urai Āsiriyar lays emphasis on *Bharaṇi*. The Tamil lexicon equates it to *Krittikas*. On *Āṣāḍha Bahuḷa 8*, *Bharaṇi* will begin just before *Aṣṭami* ends. On *S'rāvaṇa Bahuḷa 8*, *Aṣṭami* begins just before *Bharaṇi* ends. *Krittikas* and *Aṣṭami* will run together. The choice depends on which of the dates is included in the Tamil month *Āḍi*. We do not know whether the early Tamils followed the solar or lunar calendar—using the Tamil equivalents of the Saṁskṛt titles of lunar months. The problem requires investigation.

The two other occasions on which Adiyārku Nallār introduces Tamil dates are: (1). The day on which Kovalan decided to travel by night only—it was the hottest day of the year—midsummer day. The poet says that the Sun used all his strength on that day,

Nallār identifies that date as the last day of *Aṇi.* Kovalan assures Kannakai that the brilliant moonlight would make the night journey pleasant. Evidently it was the second quarter of *S'ukla-pakṣa.* (2) On the day on which Kovalan went round the city of Madurai, reconnoitring, the wind had veered round from south to west, accompanied by cloudly whether. Nallār interprets this remark of the poet as indicating that the month of *Āḍi* was in full sway and floods had commenced in the Vaigai river. After the destruction of Madurai by fire, Kannaki travelled west on the south bank of the river because it was in floods. According to the *Vedānga Jyotiṣa* calendar, if *Cçittirai* began on *Caitra S'ukla 3*, *Āḍi* would begin on *S'ukla* 6 of *Āṣāḍha.* The next *Bahuḷa 8* would naturally belong to *Aḍi*, as declared in the prophecy. What remarks Adiyārku Nallār had offered on the fulfilment of the prophecy regarding the destruction of Madurai by fire on the night of Kovalan's murder cannot be known until the missing commentary is discovered. Swāmikannu Pillay modified the scheme of Adiyārku Nallār to be in harmony with the poet's calendar. Using *Amānta* months, he commenced Tamil *Ccittirai* on the full-moon in *Caitra*; regarding it as zero day of *Ccittirai*, count begins from *Caitra Bahuḷa 1.* We shall call it the Pillay scheme. Nallār began Tamil *Ccittirai* on *Phālguṇa Bahuḷa 2* as zero day; count begins from *Bahuḷa 3.* The two zero days are twenty-eight days apart. The schemes of comparative Tables of full-moon, *nakṣatras* on the Vedānga, Jaina and modern systems are given in Tables A and B overleaf. (Pages 276-277)

On the mean-time system the interval between two full-moons remains constant. The difference in weekdays is therefore a constant in employing modern values, the weekday difference between full-moons is 1.5306 days, or roughly 1.53 days. Eight *tithis* occupy 7.87 days. So if we assume that *Bhauḷa Aṣṭami* ended at .63 of Friday, the weekdays of all the previous full-moon endings can be easily found out. Since a *tithi* or a *nakṣatra* roughly occupies a day, the *nakṣatra* and weekday of *S'ukla 14* or *Bahuḷa 1* is readily found. Table C. on page 278 will help us to do so.

TABLE A

Events		Schemes			
		Pre-Nallār Jaina III year	Pillay Sūrya-Siddhānta	Nallār Vedānga II Year	Poet
Indra Vila	Begins	Ccittiri 1 Phālguṇa Bahuḷa 3	Caitra Bahuḷa 1.		Caitra Full-Moon
	Ends	Ccittirai 28 Full-Moon Citrā	Vais'ākha S'ukla 13		Vais'ākha S'ukla 13
Kadalādu Quarrel		Vaigās'i 28 Full-Moon Vais'ākha	Jēṣṭa S'ukla 13		Full-moon Vais'ākha
Journey	Begins	Vaigās'i 29 Bahuḷa I. Vais'ākha	Jēṣṭa S'ukla 14		Jēṣṭa S'ukla 14
	Ends	Āṇi 2 Bahuḷa 8 Āṣāḍha	S'ravaṇa Bahuḷa 8	Āṣāḍha Bahuḷa 8	Āṣada Bahuḷa 8
Duration of Journey		Sixty-six days and a half.	Sixty-six days and a half. Āḍi 31.	Thirty-eight days and a half.	Thirty-eight days and a half.

N.B.—Pillay and Nallār begin Journey next day to Kadalādu quarrel.

The poet allows an interval of only twenty-eight days.

TABLE B

Comparative Table of full-moon, nakṣatras in the Vedanga, Jaina and Modern systems.

Nakṣatras and month, etc.	Systems			
	Vedānga	Jaina	Sūrya-Siddhānta	Brahma-Siddhānta
		Dura	tion	
Utphal Phālguṇa ...	.77	.83	.88	.94
Citrā Caitra ...,	.94	.89	...	...
Svāti Caitra ...	...	...	.06	.15
Anuradha Vais'ākha ...	.17	.15	.23	.34 Purāḍh
Mūla Jēṣṭa ..	.30	.86	.42	.15
Uttarāṣādha Āṣāḍha ...	.47	.70	.60	.85
Bharaṇi Bahuḷa 8 ...	.32	.26	.40	.84

N.B.—The year chosen for illustration is A. D. 465, on both Sūrya-Siddhānta and Brahma-Siddhānta Systems. Other dates are A.D. 164, 313, 587, etc.

Note.—The fractions indicate the portion of the *nakṣatra* that had elapsed at the moment the full-moon *tithi* or *Bahuḷa Aṣṭami* ended. In the Vedānga and Sūrya Siddhānta systems, the *nakṣatras* are all equal. In the Jaina, Garga and Brahma Siddhāntas, *Bharaṇi*, *Ārdra*, *Āṣlēs'a*, *Svāti*, *Jēṣṭā* and *S'atabhiṣak* are half-day *nakṣatras*, whereas *Rōhiṇi*, *Punarvasu*, *Uttaraphalguṇi*, *Vis'ākha*, *Uttara-Āṣāḍha* and *Uttarā-bhādrapada* extend over a day and a half. The rest fifteen are one-day *nakṣatras*. The Jainas use a twenty-eighth *nakṣatra*—*Abhijit*—which occupies .32 of a day *i.e.* the fraction of a day by which the *nakṣatra* cycle exceeds twenty-seven days. These differentions should be taken into account in calculating the ending moments of *nakṣatras*.

TABLE C

Full-moon	Phālguṇa	Caitra	Vais'ākha	Jēṣṭa	Āṣāḍha	Bahuḷa 8
	6.64	1.17	2.70	4.23	5.76	6.63
Nakṣatra	Utphal	Chitrā	Anurādha	Mūla	Utāsh.	Bharani
Weekday	Friday	Sunday	Monday	Wednes.	Thursday	Friday

Note 2 :—We are in a position to verify the weekday allotment of Nallār. Commentary on first four verses of Nādukāṇ Kādai—Canto X.

i. *Phālguṇa Ba. 3.* is *Svāti* and Sunday. ii. *Caitra* full-moon—*Citrā* and Saturday. iii. *Vais'ākha* full-moon—Monday and *Anūrādhā*. iv. *Vais'ākha Ba. 1.* Tuesday and *Jēṣṭā*. (Nallār's Tamil dating.) v. *Jēṣṭa S'u. 14*—Tuesday and *Jēṣṭā nakṣatra* (Poet and Pillay begin journey). vi. Journey ends. *Ba. 8.* Friday and *Bharaṇi*. Adiyārku Nallār's note is not available. Arumpada Urai-Āsiriyar interprets *nakṣatra* as *Bharaṇi*.

So far our arguments have been based on the assumption that the date of Kovalan's death was *Āṣāḍha Bahuḷa Aṣṭami* on the *Amānta* system and it ended on a Friday after sunset. The wording of the prophecy by the poet emphasises on three points. The destruction of Madurai would be brought about on the night of a Friday, the *Bahuḷa Aṣṭami*, of the Tamil month of *Aḍi*. The *Aṣṭami* was associated with the *nakṣatra* dual—*Bharaṇi* and *Krittikai*. The epithet used is—aḷal-ser-kuṭṭam. The Tamil lexicon informs us that the term *aḷal-kuṭṭam* stands for the *nakṣatra Kritikas*. Professor Venkatasami Nādar interprets it as indicating the first *pāda* of *Krittikas* that, with *Bharaṇi* and *As'vini*, constitutes *Mēs'a-rāsi*. The commentary of Adiyārku Nallār is not available on this topic. Arumpada-Urai Āsiriyar declares it to mean *Krittika-Bharaṇi*—shifting the emphasis to *Bharaṇi*. The system of intercalation adopted by the Vedānga, Jaina and modern Siddhānta systems is that in those years in which no *adhikamāsa* has been inserted in the year ending with the *Āṣāḍha* full-moon, the *nakṣatra* current when *Bahula Aṣṭami* ends is either *Bharaṇi* or else *As'vini* or *Rēvati*. It is only when an *adhikamāsa* has been inserted within the previous twelve months that there is a chance for *Krittikas* to be current when *Aṣṭami* ends. This occurrence is rendered

possible because, in the absence of intercalation, the lunar month would have been dubbed *S'rāvaṇa* but not *Āṣāḍha*. The occurrence of both *Bharaṇi* and *Krittikas* on the *Aṣṭami* is a characteristic of the *Aṣṭami* of *S'rāvaṇa Bahuḷa* which we, moderns, designate *Kṛṣṇa Janmāṣṭami* or *Gōkulāṣṭami*. The problem of bringing about an association of Tamil solar month, *Āḍi*, a *Bahuḷa Aṣṭami* and the *nakṣatra* twins—*Bharaṇi* and *Krittikas*—becomes a complicated process. Adiyārku Nallār's statement that Kovalan began his journey on *Vaigā'si 29*, which in that year coincided with *Jēṣṭa S'ukla 14*, makes *S'rāvaṇa Bahuḷa Aṣṭami* fall at least one day later than the last day of *Āḍi*, even if we generously allot 31 days to *Vaigās'i*, thirty two days to *Āṇi* and *Āḍi* each. The total interval falls short of sixty-six days and a half taken up by the journey. If the journey began on *S'ukla 14*, a Tuesday and ended on a *Bahula Aṣṭami* and Friday, the interval must be either 38½ days or 66½ days and no other. It was this discrepancy that forced Swāmikannu Pillay to assume that the *Aṣṭami* of Kovalan's death was *Gōkulāṣṭami* and that it began on the Friday late enough to be just current at midnight when the city was burnt. A technical fluke was also necessary to dub that day as the last day of *Āḍi*. It is doubtful if the poet intended his statement to be looked upon as an astronomical conundrum, and an exercise in ingenuity. It does not contain an even remote reference to the *Rās'i* system ; even the *nakṣatra* is not explicitly mentioned. In these circumstances we are offered a choice between a Friday of *Āḍi* on which *Bharaṇi* begins a little before *Aṣṭami* ends, or a Friday at the tail end of *Āḍi* on which *Bharaṇi* ends just a while after *Aṣṭami* has begun. The following table (Table D) is an illustration. The full-moon and *Aṣṭami* or *Saptami tithis* end at the fraction of weekday.

TABLE D

Month *Nakṣatra* and Week Day	Duration Year 465 A. D.	 Year 455 A. D.
Phālguṇa Utphal Friday	6.64	5.84 Thursday .19 Utphala
Caitra Citrā Saturday-Sunday	1.17	7.37 Saturday .38 Citrā
Vais'ākha Anūrādha Monday	2.70	1.90 Sunday .56 Vis'ākha
Jēṣṭa Mūla Wednesday	4.23	3.43 Tuesday .74 Jēṣṭā
Āṣāḍha Uttarāṣāḍha Thursday	5.76	4.96 Wednesday .93 Pūrvāṣāḍha
S'rāvaṇa Bahuḷa 7 or 8 : Āṣāḍha Bahula 8.	6.63 Friday Bharaṇi ends at .23 Saturday	6.49. Bahuḷa 7, 6.38 Friday Dhaniṣṭa .11 Bharaṇi .93

N.B.—Saptami ends at .38 of Friday. *Bharaṇi* ends at .45 Friday.

N.B.—In the majority of cases, a *tithi* or *nakṣatra* begins on one weekday and ends on the next. Of the two we have to choose that on which the given event actually takes place. The *Caitra* full-moon *tithi* of A.D. 465, begins in *Citrā nakṣatra* and Saturday and ends in *Svāti* on Sunday. The combination of full-moon *tithi* and *Citrā* occurs on Saturday. Whether the *Bahuḷa Aṣṭami* is current at sunrise on the Friday or not, it must be current till after sunset when Kannaki pronounced her curse. Similarly the *nakṣatra Jēṣṭā*, should be current at sunrise of the Tuesday on which Kovalan started for Madurai. The *tithi* is important to the extent that both the Sun and the Moon near its full were absent at the moment of start. In astrology, they are both highly auspicious by themselves. The poet does not mention the Tuesday-*Jēṣṭā* combination explicitly. So far nobody else has suggested a more malefic combination than this of Adiyārku Nallār. Since it is in conformity with the other statements of the poet, we shall assume it to be the one that the poet had in view. Only two weekdays are essential, the Tuesday on which the journey began and the Friday on which it ended. The weekdays of the *Caitra* full-moon and the Kadalādu festival are incidental and can vary. But the full-moon *nakṣatra* of the month *Jēṣṭā* must be Mūla. The full-moon *nakṣatra* of *Āṣāḍha* and *S'rāvaṇa* must be *Uttarāṣāḍha* and *Dhaniṣṭā* respectively, so that *Bharaṇi* and *Krittikas* may be current on the respective *Bahuḷa Aṣṭamis*. Any year in which these conditions are satisfied will meet the requirements of the S'ilappa-dikāram. In some years the Tuesday-*Jēṣṭā* combination can be secured on *Vais'ākha Bahuḷa Pratipad* also—the Tuesday assigned to the departure of Kovalan from Puhār in the personal scheme of Adiyārku Nallār. A. D. 174, 252, 313, 448, 587 are some of the possible years. We can regard A.D. *164* as the year of the destruction of Madurai A. D. 174 will serve as the year in which the image of Kannaki was consecrated in the presence of Gajabāhu of Ceylon (171-193 A. D.). If, as declared by tradition embodied in the two *padīgams*, the authors of the S'ilappadaikāram and Maṇimekhalai were contemporaries, the date 465 A.D. would be the earliest likely date for them. If they were not contemporaries, Ilango-Adigal could be assigned the dates 313 A,D. and 587 A.D,

respectively on the hypothesis that Ilango-Adigal derived the astronomical details from an almanac of his own times. There is one other astronomical clue furnished by the poet. In the year of Kovalan's death, Venus was a morning star on the full-moon of *Vais'ākha*. The date suggested above satisfies this requirement also.

Students of astronomy should be grateful to Adiyārku Nallār for setting a highly interesting but complicated problem for solution. Astronomical data do not constitute a *prima facie* evidence for fixing a historical date. When a set of near dates has been deduced on other grounds, they help us to select the most likely of them. That is all. The lower limit is about 164 A.D. The higher limit is 587 A.D. The year A.D. 465 satisfies most of the astronomical data furnished by the poet and the commentator. It maintains the traditional link between the authors of the S'ilappadhikāram and the Maṇimekhalai. Let us adopt it.

TIMES OF SRI RAMA, LORD KRISHNA AND BHARATA BATTLE

M. NILAKANTAN

I contribute this article with a view to enlighten the World at large that the twin subjects of astronomy and astrology are neither artful nor fabulous but cosmic sciences which originally sprang up in India and spread to other countries. They had been preserved from time immemorial in India but languished in obscurity for the last 6,000 years due to the loss or destruction of some of the original treatises, when India had no other alternative but to refer to the sciences prevailing then in other countries with different schools of thought which ultimately resulted in too great a liberty being taken to conclude that astronomy and astrology were not indigenous but exotic sciences. I opine such reference was not a wholesale borrowing, copying or imitating either from Greece or Babylonia but simply a verbal transmission of the ideas of the theories and technical terms of the sciences for comparison and contrast with the science in vogue then in India in fragments, to restore them to their originals by research, the truth of which may well be elucidated by the historic events connected with the positions of planets. The epochs of *Kṛta*, *Trēta*, *Dvāpara* and *Kali* referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa* and the *Mahābhārata* can well nigh be proved as accurate and genuine by the clues, mentioned in the article, which have been discovered by me after fourteen years of profound, silent and incessant research.

The births of S'rī Rāma, Lord Kṛṣṇa and the date of the Bhārata Battle are the baffling issues in the astro-world which still remain to be solved and puzzle many a scholar. S'rī Rāma, and Lord Kṛṣṇa were said to be *avatars* or progenitors of mankind or new fathers of the human race at the end of the last *Trēta yuga* and *Dvāpara yuga* or the Silver Age and the Bronze Age, to put down *adharma* then prevailing and to affirm virtue and knowledge for mankind. The birth of Lord Kṛṣṇa and the time of the Bhārata

Battle that have been asserted in the *Purāṇas* and the materials supplied therein to ascertain the truth are incomplete and unsatisfactory. So also the birth data of S'rī Rāma given in the *Rāmāyaṇa* is tending to mislead the law and theory of astronomy and astrology. If S'rī Rāma had really been born with Jupiter and Moon in Cancer ascendant, he would not have lost his throne and led a life of exile for fourteen years, suffering without royal food, water, shelter and other comforts. The author of the *Rāmāyaṇa* seems to have brought out the *Rāmāyaṇa* in anticipation of the birth of S'rī Rāmacandra and narrated the positions of the planets which were deemed necessary for an incarnation of God in a royal family, but unfortunately the author miserably failed to consider the planetary positions required for the life which S'rī Rāma was destined to lead. The exaltations of five planets narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa, viz.* Sun in Aries, Jupiter in Cancer, Saturn in Libra, Mars in Capricorn and Venus in Pisces, actually took place in *Caitra* the next month for the first day upto only 10 p.m. but not in the month of *Phalguṇi* when S'rī Rāma was said to have been born. When the Sun is in Aries, no birth is possible scientifically in the constellation *Punarvasu* with *Navami tithi.* It is one of the errors allied with the elevations of seven planets in a horoscope narrated in the 'Brihat Jātaka.'

There is another important issue to be decided. The Law of Nature bids that at every deluge there would be an incarnation of God to affirm virtue and knowledge for mankind. In pursuance of this Law of Nature, we find in the *Purāṇas* the paradoxical suggestion that upto the last *Dvāpara yuga* there ended nine *avatars* or incarnations of God Viṣṇu. Giving weight to the paradox before we examine the planetary elements, let us try to find out the duration of time lapsed between the birth of S'rī Rāma and Lord Kṛṣṇa. Unfortunately, we find no particulars available anywhere save by planetary elements at the events. During my fourteen years of profound and incessant research, I was able to discover that at the end of every 1,200 divine years or 432,000 solar years there appeared to have taken an *avatar*; that is to say four avatars in the *Kṛta yuga* or Golden Age, three avatars in the *Trēta yuga* or Silver Age, two *avatars* in the *Dvāpara yuga*

or Bronze Age and one *avatar* in the *Kali yuga* or Iron Age would take place about the end, as the said *yugas* contain 4,800; 3,600; 2,400 and 1,200 divine years or 4,320,000 solar years in all, respectively, aggregating to ten *avatars* in every *Maha Yuga* or Great Age.

Now we shall examine the paradox referred to above by planetary elements.

S'rī Rāmacandra was born on Friday, the 15th day of *Phalguṇi* in the 9th day of the bright half (*Navami tithi*) of the 12th month in the *Punarvasu* constellation at 18 *ghatikas* and 14 *kalas* after sunrise or about 1.26 p.m. in Cancer ascendant with Virgo *navamsa* in *Vilambi*, the 32nd Hindu Cyclic year, *i.e.* 1,295,972nd year of the last *Trēta yuga* or 28 years prior to the closure of the last *Trēta Yuga* in the following positions of planets in the Zodiac.

Sun Venus		Kēthu	Jupiter
Mercury	S'ri Rāma's Birth chart 15th day of *Phalguṇi* in 1,295,972nd year in *Trēta yuga* last		Moon Lagna
Mars			
	Rāhu	Saturn R	

Sun	U. Bhādrapada	4 qtr.
Moon	Punarvasu	4 „
Mars	Sravaṇa	3 „
Rahu	Jēṣṭā	1 „
Jupiter	Punarvasu	3D. of. R. in Cancer
Saturn	Svāti	4R „
Mercury	P. Bhadrapada	1 „
Kēthu	Mṛgaṣirs'a	1 „
Venus	U. Bhādrapada	2 „
Lagna	Pus'ya	2 „

1. The aspect of Saturn, lord of 8th over 10th house and the lord of Lagna Moon destined S'rī Rāma to lose the throne and to lead a life of suffering for sometime though he was born in the royal family.

2. If the lord of 9th house, Jupiter were to be in Cancer with benefic Moon and aspected by powerful exalted benefic Mars as narrated in the *Rāmāyaṇa*, S'rī Rāma would have been crowned as a powerful emperor and would have established a powerful dynasty by conquering and annexing vast and extensive lands to his kingdom.

3. The position of Jupiter, the lord of 9th in 12th house destined S'rī Rāma to lose his father in his teens or youth and the aspect of Saturn over 10th house destined him to perform *karma* to his father early in life.

4. If the lord of 5th house Mars were to be aspected by the benefic Jupiter, lord of 9th from Lagna, S'rī Rāma would have become father of many children; but the aspect of Moon from Lagna and the position of Rāhu in 5th house resulted in adversity.

5. The position of Venus, the lord of 4th house in 9th with malefic Sun separated S'rī Rāma from his mother in his youth and deprived him of enjoying a royal walk of life and comforts for sometime.

Note:—The position of Rāhu and Kēthu in the first quarter of the constellations *Jēṣṭā* and *Mṛgaṣirs'a* respectively may appear arbitrary in regard to the treatises on modern astronomy but scientifically their positions as above are accurate. In the absence of a treatise on Kēthu in ancient available astronomical literatures the modern astronomers surmised the treatise of Rāhu with Kēthu on analogy. Scientifically the motions of Rāhu and Kēthu differ from each other to a maximum extent of two quarters of a constellation.

We shall now examine the birth date of Lord Kṛṣṇa.

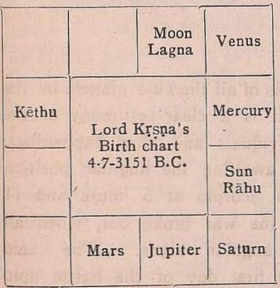
Lord Kṛṣṇa was said to have given up his body thirty years after the Bhārata Battle, *i. e.* the moment when the present *Kali* epoch started. He was said to have been born in *Virōdhi*, the 23rd Hindu cyclic year on the 8th day of the dark half of *S'rāvaṇa* in the constellation *Rōhini* at about midnight.

On examining the planetary positions, it is found that Lord Kṛṣṇa was born on Wednesday, the 8th day of *S'rāvaṇa* month in 863,937th solar year of the last *Dvāpara yuga* corresponding to the 4th day of July, 3151 B.C. on the 8th day of the dark half in the *Rōhini* constellation at 45 *ghatikas* and 44 *kala*s or at 11.55 p.m. in Taurus ascendant in the 2nd quarter of the constellation *Rōhini* when the Vernal Equinox was recurring on the 21st and 22nd February.

Note:—The birth of Lord Kṛṣṇa took place about 64 years prior to the closure of the last *Dvāpara yuga* or before the beginning

of the present *Kali* epoch. Scientifically the Lord was born in *Rudhirōdgāri*, the 57th Hindu cyclic year. Due to the penetration of simple, common and natural error of 26 years in the present *Kali* epoch, the astronomers of the 18th or the 19th century or even prior were able to adjust or eliminate 12 years on the plea that the ancient Hindu astronomers were in the habit of reckoning time by 'Brahaspathi mana' or measure of Jupiter and hence the error assailed in the *Kali* epoch and due to their dilemma to account for the remaining discrepancy of fourteen years they simply allowed them to encroach on the present *Kali* epoch even without a whisper.

The following chart represents the true positions of planets.



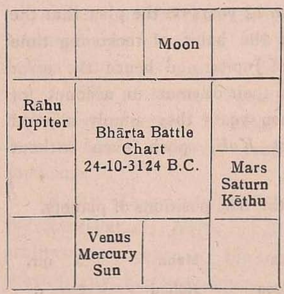
Sun	Maha	3	qtr.
Moon	Rōhiṇi	2	,,
Mars	Jēṣṭā	4	,,
Rāhu	P. Phalguni	1	,,
Jupiter	Vis'ākha	2	,,
Saturn	Hasta	2	,,
Mercury	Aslēs'a	3D	,,
Kēthu	Satabhis'ak	3	,,
Venus	Punarvasu	3	,,
Lagna	Rōhiṇi	2	,,

In conclusion, we shall find out the date of Bhārata Battle on the intermixture of planetary positions furnished by the author of the *Mahābhārata* on the perverted notion of movable and fixed zodiacs.

The war was said to have commenced on a Full-moon day of *Mārgaṣirs'a* month when the Moon was in the *Rōhini* constellation and it ended while the Moon was in *S'ravaṇa* thus comprising a period of eighteen days.

On investigation, the planetary positions disclose that the war broke out on Tuesday the 24th October 3124 B.C. corresponding to the last or 30th day of the *Kārthika* month of *Vikṛuti*

the 24th Hindu cyclic year or 863,964th year of the last *Dvāpara yuga*, when the Vernal Equinox was recurring on the 21st and 22nd of February in the following planetary positions.



Sun	Jēṣṭā	4	qtr.
Moon	Mṛgaṣirs'a	2	,,
Mars	P. Phalguni	2	,,
Rāhu	Purvābhādra	2	,,
Jupiter	Satabhis'ak	4	,,
Saturn	U. Phalguni	1	,,
Mercury	Anūrādha	3	,,
Kēthu	U. Phalguni	1	,,
Venus	Vis'ākha	4	,,

The above rare angular positions of all the nine planets in the zodiac on the day the war broke out is a clear testimony of the influence of planets on nations, individuals and other happenings. The commencement of the war was awaiting the angular position of the planet Venus which entered Scorpio at 5 hours and 11 minutes before sunrise on the day the war broke out, when all the planets were posited in angular signs. The said angular positions continued on the first day of the battle upto 15 *ghatikas* and 11 *kalas* or 6 hours and 4 minutes after sunrise when the angular position of Moon was disturbed by its entry in Gemini and the said angular position of the Sun with other planets was further disturbed by the entry of the Sun in Sagittarius on the same day at 34 *ghatikas* and 40 *kalas* or 13 hours and 52 minutes after sunrise.

I am appending below the chart showing the positions of planets on 3-9-1939 A.D. when the Second World War broke out for the study of readers. Note the combinations of Sun, Venus and Mercury and the aspect of Mars over them and also the combination of Saturn and Kēthu in angular positions with Rāhu and Mars where Saturn aspects Rāhu and Mars, and Mars in turn

aspects Saturn which creates a link of eight planets almost similar to the position of planets at Bhārata Battle.

Jupiter (R)	Kēthu Moon Saturn (R)		
	II World War Chart 3-9-1939 A.D.		
Mars			Mercury Venus Sun
		Rāhu	

Sun	P. Phalguna	1	qtr.
Moon	Asvini	4	"
Mars	U. Āṣāḍa	2	"
Rahu	Citra	4	"
Jupiter	Rēvati	3R	"
Saturn	Asvini	4R	"
Mercury	Magha	1	"
Kethu	Asvini	3	"
Venus	Magha	4	"

In summing up this article, the attention of the public is drawn to the fact that due to the loss or destruction of the original treatises on Hindu Astronomy in India, the astronomers of the present *Kali* epoch in the course of their venture to find out the correct treatises on astronomy began to draw from foreign and uncalled for elements in Hindu Astronomy such as Precession of Equinoxes, in view of their dilemma or inability to find out the true duration of the Solar Siderial year. Sines with despotic values in place of Cords or segments used by Ancient Hindu Astronomers, Trigonometry in place of simple Arithmetic, reckoning of *Vais'ākha* month as the first of a Solar year instead of *Caitra*, etc. which ultimately languished the science in obscurity when different astronomers began to arbiter in science with different schools of thought. As Astronomy is part and parcel of Cosmogony, the science of Astronomy is regulated by standard laws, theories and principles which may well-nigh be tested from the positions of the planets computed by me in the birth charts of S'rī Rāma and Lord Kṛṣṇa and the Bhārata Battle (and also Arjuna, S'rī Ādi S'aṁkaracārya, Jesus Christ, Buddha, Svāmi Vivekananda, etc. reserved for publication) from 869,071 years, 5,107 years and 5,080 years back from now respectively without any deviation or discrepancy from the materials available in ancient inscriptions or literatures. So Hindu Astronomy is not a concert of any foreign science nor are the Hindus indebted to any foreign land or foreigner as their science is indigenous. The Hindus always remained and still remain as teachers and not as learners or copyists.

THE MEANING OF LIFE ACCORDING TO BUDDHISM *

By Rajadharmaprasakta A.S.R.Chari, B.A., B.L.

TODAY is a Thrice Sacred and Thrice Blessed Day not only to Buddhists but to the whole of India, nay to the entire world. The Buddha was a son of India and the three most important events in his life, namely, his birth in the world, his attainment of enlightenment or Buddhahood and his passing into *Parinibbana* all occurred on the *Vais'ākha Pournima* day, though of course at long intervals. Most of you must be familiar with the early and later years of his life and so I do not refer to them this evening but directly proceed to the subject which is "*Life and its Meaning.*"

The term '*Life*' has more than one meaning. Biologically it denotes a state of being, existence or animation. But it is generally used in a more comprehensive sense to mean the manner of living, or the art of living. Life manifests itself both in physical and mental phenomena. Mind or consciousness according to Buddhism arises at the very moment of conception, consciousness is present in the very foetus. This initial consciousness is known as the re-birth or re-linking consciousness and in it is conditioned by the past *Karma* of the person concerned. It is the life principle or the spark of life that enables the inert mass of our physical body to function in its multifarious aspects. A body without that spark is a mere conglomeration of loathsome components. Yet when we see the prevailing view that I am the body, the body is I and the trouble and fuss made over, let alone a living body, but even over a dead one, one cannot understand it at all. You must have heard that, in western countries especially, very huge sums are spent on caskets and the coffins of silver and gold to encase the dead body as if it were an everlasting permanent thing. In fact less fuss is made over the life principle than on the body without life which scientists have shown disintegrates rapidly into its elemental components. Even the Buddha's body was no exception to this rule. The last words of the Buddha were "And now Oh!

* **Talk at the Mythic Society—Buddha Jayanthi, 1954.**

Monks, I take my leave of you, all the constituents of being are transitory. Work out your salvation by diligence." I do not for a moment say that one should neglect one's body or allow it to become the hot bed of sickness. A sound body leads to a sound mind. And we need both to be sound and healthy for the progress in any direction, especially in our quest after truth, in our quest for *Nirvāṇa.* But we must consider the body as only a vehicle and a means to an end and not an end in itself, and cast if off without any regret when it becomes useless like we do with an old garment. A few illustrations will suffice to make this clear.

The Buddha had a handsome commanding figure and a beautiful face refulgent with splendour. One of his disciples was struck more by the beauty of Buddha's physical body than by his teachings and did more homage to the former than to the latter. The Buddha perceived this and in order to correct this tendency, he by his psychical powers projected his skeleton and loathsome flesh to the gaze of the disciple who could hardly believe that it was the Buddha. Then the Buddha impressed on him the truth that the body nf the Buddha was not different from others in its loathsome impermanance and the disciple thenceforward gave his entire attention to the *Dharma.*

Sometime after Buddha attained enlightenment, a Brahmin, Magandhiya by name who had a daughter who was bent upon marrying Buddha offered her in marriage to him extolling her "as a pearl of woman desired by many kings." Buddha said he did not want to even touch one whose body was a thing full of water and impurities. Then he expounded the doctrine and Magandhiya and his daughter were converted and became the followers of the *Dharma* and ere long entered the path leading to *Nirvāṇa.*

The story is told of Maha Tissa Thera of Ceylon. He had progressed considerably in the path to *Nirvāṅa* and was near the stage of *Arhatship* which is immediately next to *Nirvāṇa.* He was going to Anuradhapura for alms (*Biksha*). On the way he met an upper class lady looking like a *Dēvakanya* who having quarrelled with her husband was going back to her parent's home. When she saw the Bhikku she laughed for some unknown reason exposing her beautiful teeth which poets usually compare to pearls

and the like. But to our Bhikku, he perceived in the teeth only a loathsome bone, an impure object. Then he began to meditate on the teeth, bones and their impermanance and then and there attained *Arhatship*. Some time later, the lady's husband followed in her wake probably to bring her back and he asked Maha Tissa "Venerable Sir, did you meet a lady on your way." The Bhikku replied "I do not know whether it was a woman or man that went but I only saw a bag of bones." Could detachment go further!

Then again, there is the story of As'ōka, the Great emperor who extended his sway from the Himalayas to Cape Comorin. In his earlier days he waged ruthless a war, killing thousands without mercy. When he became a follower of Buddha there was a complete change in him. No person valued the sanctity of life more than he did and his edicts show that so far as life and its sacredness were concerned he made no difference between a human being and an animal and between one of a high caste and one of a low caste. As you are aware Buddhism does not recognize castes. Buddhists belong to a casteless society. Naturally to the order of Bikkus or monks were drawn people of all castes and creeds without distinction. When As'ōka bowed his head in reverence to the Bikkus or monks coming from all castes and classes and prostrated before them, some of his ministers did not like it. They made no secret of their disapproval of a Kṣatriya monarch like As'ōka bending before monks of a lower strata. No amount of argument could convince them that their attitude was wrong. So As'ōka wanted to teach them a lesson. He collected some heads of sheep, goats, pigs, cattle and also a human head. He gave them to every minister and asked them to sit in the market or bazaar, sell them and report to him in the evening. In the evening they all came back to As'ōka and placed before him the money got from the sale of the heads entrusted to them, all but the minister who was entrusted with the human head. That particular minister said that while the heads of the sheep, cattle, etc. found a ready sale and people bought them for food for themselves or their dogs, nobody cared to buy the human head. In fact every one who saw it shrank from it in disgust. Then As'ōka turned to his ministers and said "you see, a human head has not got the

value even that of a goat or pig. What is wrong in my bending this worthless object before a Bhikku of a so called low caste." ?

Death is a leveller and the dead body of a king is no better, no worse than that of a sweeper or even that of an animal. Physiologically there is no difference between the body of a man and an animal. Both have the same kind of cells and functions. Expressing his own view about the cosmic purpose of creation, that great philosopher and scholar Bertrand Russell boldly declared "Why in any case is this glorification of man? How about lions and tigers? They destroy fewer animals or human lives than we do and they are much more beautiful than we are. How about ants? They manage their corporate state much better than any Fascist. Would not a world of nightingales and larks and deers be better than our human world of cruelty, injustice, and war? The believersi n cosmic purpose make much of our supposed intelligence but their writings make one doubt it. If I were granted omnipotence and millions of years to experiment in, I should not think there is much to boast of in man, as the final results of all my efforts."

In no religion do we find a greater emphasis laid on the sacredness of all life, human as well as animal, than in Buddhism. The Dhammapada, which is the Buddhistic Gītā, says "Life is dear, precious to everyone. Everyone fears the rod, fears death. So placing oneself in the position of the other, neither kill nor harm any living being nor cause or abet such killing or harm." Even though some present day Buddhists place a too literal interpretation on killing and argue or rather quibble that so long as they themselves do not use their hands to kill animals there is no objection to their using the flesh of an animal killed by another, this is a wrong view to take and cuts at the very root of the teachings of the Most Compassionate Master. This killing by proxy, as I call it, is in no way less reprehensible than doing it with one's own hands. I would say it is even more so. The ancient Buddhists understood the spirit of the teachings better. In Ceylon, the land of Buddhism, there was no killing of animals till the advent of the Dutch, Portuguese and the Western nations. A Western traveller Noakes by name (he was like Abbé Dubois or Marco Polo) warns his countrymen not to come to Ceylon because they would starve,

for in his eyes deprivation of flesh was equivalent to starvation. It is said that a Sinhalese king who got an unnatural craving to taste meat had to wait for years (because no one would kill animals) before he came upon the carcass of an animal killed by some wild beast before he could satisfy his longings.

In Japan until the advent of Emperor Meiji who, worsted by the American Navy, got a mistaken idea that to fight the foreigners, the Japanese people should take to flesh to become strong actually made a decree that every one should eat meat, killing and meat eating were unknown. To touch the dead body of an animal was counted as pollution as in the case of a dead human body and only a class of grave diggers called Etas could dispose of the dead animal.

Yet today we find that life, even of human beings, has lost its sacredness and nations do not hesitate to destroy millions of lives without regrets—a truly sad state of affairs.

Compassion is erased from the dictionary but the authors of this cruelty can never escape from the bad *karma* they accumulate which is sure to lead them into suffering and the *catur apaya* or the four dangerous states, by being born in hell, as an animal, as a *Petha* or *Prētha* and as an *Asura*.

Now, what is life? Who is man? These are our questions. Man possesses a body which is seen by our senses. This material body consists of forces and qualities which are constantly changing and therefore are in a state of constant flux. Scientists find it difficult to define what is matter. The Pali term for matter is *Rūpa* which signifies that which changes or disintegrates. According to Buddhism there are four fundamental bases for matter. They are *Pathavi*, *Apo*, *Tējo* and *Vāyu*.

Pathavi denotes the substratum. Without this element or base, objects cannot occupy space. The qualities of hardness or softness are found in this basic element. We can call this as the element of extension.

Apo is the element of cohesion. Unlike *Pathavi* which is solid, *Apo* is intangible. It is this element which coheres the scattered atoms of matter.

Tējo is the element of heat. Both heat and its opposite

cold are included in this. It is this element that gives the vitalising energy and is responsible for preservation and decay of the body.

Vāyu is the element of motion, which is the force or generator of motion.

These four powerful forces or elements are inseparable and are inter-related but one element may preponderate over another. Thus in earth or *Pathavi* the solid element predominates, in fire *Tējo*, in water *Apo* and in *Vāyu* the elements of motion.

These fundamental bases as already observed are in a state of flux or constant change never remaining the same for two consecutive moments. According to biologists at the moment of conception man inherits from the parents a minute cell. In the course of nine months this speck grows to 15,000 million times greater. According to Buddhism sex is also determined at the time of conception. But in the complex machinery of man there is another important factor. It is the mind. Some say man is not mind plus body, others say man is mind and body. Scientists say life emerges from matter and mind emerges from life. All these are not very satisfactory explanations of the development of the mind. Unlike the material body, mind which is something immaterial is invisible but it can be sensed directly.

I quote an apt couplet which has in it some elements of sarcasm.

" What is mind—No matter
What is matter—Never mind "

There is also another school which does not recognise the distinction between mind and matter, which postulates mind is matter and matter is mind, that everything is consciousness. But Buddhism recognises the distinction.

Man according to Budhistic thought is composed of *Nāma* and *Rūpa*. *Rūpa* is the material body consisting as I have already said of the four fundamental bases. *Nāma* denotes the mind and its several factors or components, thus *Vēdana*—feeling or sensations, their centres being the eye, ear, nose, tongue and contact or touch, then *Sanna*—the faculty of perception, *Sankhora*—the co-efficients of consciousness and *Vinnana*—Consciousness itself.

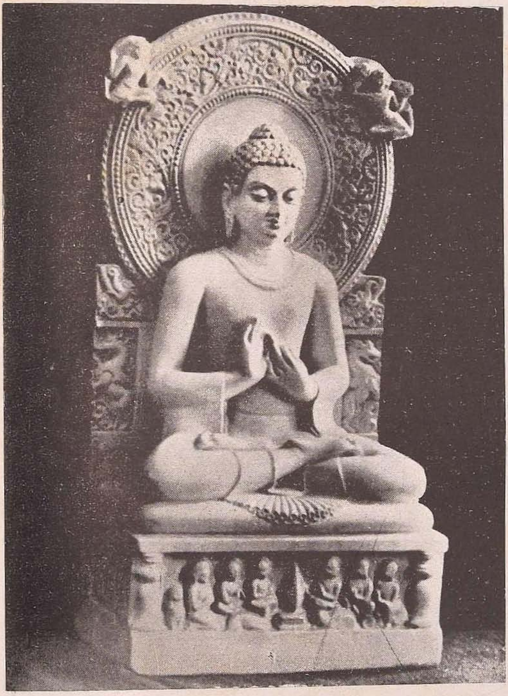
In Buddhism no distinction is made between mind and consciousness. Mind is simply the awareness of an object since according to Buddhism there is no agent or soul to direct all activities. Mind consists of feeling mental states which constantly arise and perish with lightning rapidity with birth for its source and death for its mouth [*cf.* mouth of a river]. Mind persistently flows on like a river receiving from the tributary streams of sense constant accretions to its flood.

Like electricity mind is a powerful force both constructive and destructive. It is double edged and can be used either for good or evil. One simple thought (provided it is sufficiently powerful) can either save or destroy the world. One great writer says that the potentiality of thoughts is immeasurable and boundless. Ideas, feelings, desires manifesting themselves can generate enormous quantities of energy and create infinite series of phenomena. Ideas can act for centuries and milleniums and continue to act even when the very names of the persons who created them have been forgotten or converted into a myth.

To complete the trio that constitute man there is a third factor—the phenomenon of life that vitalises both mind and matter. Matter, mind and life are therefore the three factors that constitute the man (of course this applies to all living beings). How did man originate ? From a scientific point of view man is the direct product of the sperm and ovum cells provided by the parents. The theistic view is that God created the world and decreed the laws of nature. In this view the God or Creator remains external to his creation. The pantheistic view is that God is not external to the universe but is merely the universe considered as a whole.

According to Buddhism man is born from the matrix of *karma* (*Karma yōni*). Parents merely provide a vehicle for the birth. Man thus becomes his own creator and destroyer. For a being to be born here, a being must die somewhere just as the rising of the Sun in one place denotes the setting of the Sun in another place. There is no beginning and no end to births in the ordinary sense so long as the life stream is fed by the muddy waters of ignorance and craving. The Buddha did not attempt to explain the origin of the world. In fact this is not easy to explain.

LORD BUDDHA



Preaching His First Sermon

—Sarnath.

Suppose one puts a poser like this. Did the seed come first or the tree? Did the egg come first or the hen? It is not easy to answer this querry. So births and deaths form a cycle until the chain or cycle of births is cut off by a cessation of craving and entering *Nirvāṇa*. Only when ignorance and craving cease does the life stream cease to flow, like a lamp becoming extinguished when the oil is exhausted and is not replenished. What is the end of man? According to materialists man ends in annihilation after death. When he dies the four elements composing his body return and relapse into their original source or reservoir. These materialists say that a belief in the other world is a sign of mendaciousness, feminism and weakness.

Buddhism believes in the present which has connection on the one hand with the past and on the other with the future. Just as the electric bulb is the outward manifestation of invisible electric energy, even so man is merely the outward manifestation of an invisible energy known as *karma*. The bulb may break and the light extinguished but the current remains until light is re-produced in another bulb. In the same way the *karmic* force remains undisturbed by the disintegration of the physical body and the passing of the present consciousness leads to the arising of a fresh one in another birth. Past *karma* conditions the present birth and present *karma* conditions the future. In other words the present life is the offspring of the past and in turn becomes the parent of the future.

The next question is what is the purpose of man and is there any purpose in life? These are highly controversial questions. A materialist says eat, drink and be merry; for tomorrow we die. As Dr. Radhakrishnan puts it, virtue to these materialists is a delusion and the reality consists only in enjoyment. Religion is a mental disease or dope as they call it. Science may be said to be incomplete because it does not answer this question.

Buddhism answers the question this way. It denies the existence of a God-creator and therefore there cannot be a pre-ordained purpose. Buddhism believes in free-will and not pre-destination. Man has the power to choose between right and wrong, good and bad. Man can be either hostile or friendly to himself and others. It

all depends on his mind and development. Although there is no specific purpose in man's existence yet man is free to have some purpose in life.

According to Buddhism the meaning and object of life lies in Supreme Enlightenment (*Sambodhi*—the same goal as what was attained by the Buddha), understanding oneself as one really is. The enlightenment is achieved by one through *S'īla* or conduct, *Samādhi* (mental insight) and *Bhāvana* (penetrative insight), Concentration and Preception. In service are included love, compassion, renunciation which prompt men to be of service to others. Perfection connotes absolute purity and wisdom.

If you attempt to discover the meaning of life outside of itself either in the nature of humanity or in some problematical existence beyond the grave or again in the evolution of the ego throughout many successive incarnations, always in something outside of the present life of man you will not achieve much success. But if you simply look within yourself you will see that in reality the meaning of life is not after all so very obscure. It consists in knowledge.

As one Ceylonese philosopher put it: "This body is full of flesh and blood. I bear just for the world's good and welfare." This is the *Bōdhisattva* ideal, to attain which every one of us should strive, the unasked for reward following in its wake being *Nirvāṇa* or the cessation of all re-births and suffering.

Our motto should always be "Serve to be perfect. Be perfect to serve."

In the kindred sayings we find the following truths: "Age and death come rolling over all, noble Brahmin, commoner and serf. How can we evade the impending doom? Here is no place for strife or war, nor can money win the day. Who doeth right in deed, word and thought here winneth praise and bliss in life to come."

What is the significance of *S'īla* or sublime conduct which is the keynote of Buddhism? It consists in discerning the four sublime truths, the truth of suffering, the truth of the origin of suffering, the cessation of suffering and the means to obtain the cessation of suffering. It consists in treading the Eight Fold Noble Path, the *Ariya Atthanga Mārga*. It consists in observing the minimum rules of conduct prescribed for a follower of the Buddha Dharma,

namely, to abstain from killing or injuring living beings, abstaining from stealing and all that it implies, abstaining from adultery, abstaining from falsehood and lastly abstaining from all forms of intoxicants.

The Eight Fold Path consists of right understanding, right thoughts, right speech, right action, right living, right efforts, right attentiveness and right concentration. But to deal with these subjects in detail will require more than one sitting. They must be reserved for another occasion.

DATE OF SRI SAMKARACARYA

By S. Srikantaya

S'AMKARA is a much discussed personality from every point of view, including even the date of his birth as well as of his death. Different *guruparaṁparas* of the different *S'aṁkara maṭhas* established by him do not furnish a consistent historical narrative.

The age and date of S'aṁkara are sought to be fixed from two inscriptions in Nepal and Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji refers to them and the *Vaṁs'āvali* in *Indian Antiquary*: Vol. XIII. In the same volume Pandit Bhagawanlal Indraji in his account of the Sūrya-vaṁs'ī dynasty of the kings of Nepal says that Vṛṣadēva Varman, son of Rudradēva Varman, was the eighteenth king of the dynasty. He built *vihāras* and erected the images of Lokēs'vara and other Bauddha divinities. His brother Balarchana was also a Bauddha. S'aṁkarācārya came from the south and destroyed the Bauddha faith. Vṛṣadēva reigned for sixty-one years. His son S'aṁkaradēva, the nineteenth king of the dynasty erected a trident at Pas'upati (Inscription Number 2, *Indian Antiquary*: Volume.IX.p.166) and ruled for sixty-five years.

This king Vṛṣadēva who is said to have built *vihāras* and erected images of Lokēs'vara and other Buddhist divinities according to Bhagawanlal Indraj and others referred to were unknown prior to the Fourth Century B. C. (*JRAS*. 1914. p.679). And S'aṁkara is alleged to have visited Nepal from the South in the reign of Vṛṣadēva and to have destroyed the Buddhist faith there. The earliest date for S'aṁkara is 2,885 years of the *Kali yuga* expired. (*Puṇyas'lōka mañjari* and *S'ivarahasya*). But even according to the most orthodox traditions, S'aṁkara was born in *Kali yuga* 2,593 years, *i.e.* 509 B.C. which means seventeen years before the death of Vṛṣadēva at the age of sixty-one years. This visit of S'aṁkara to Nepal is not mentioned in any of the *S'aṁkara-vijayas* and even the inscription of the Nepal king Jayadēva, a descendant of Vṛṣadēva, dated Saṁvat 153 merely refers to Vṛṣadēva as a Saugata, *i.e.* a Buddhist without any suggestion

of his conversion to Brāhmanism by S'aṁkara. No doubt the *Vaṁs'āvaḷi* mentions a S'aṁkaradēva as a son of Vṛṣadēva. But it appears to be unreliable (*Cf. QJMS*.Volume.IX. pp.110-113). A certain S'aṁkara V was said to be adorning the *Sarvajñapīṭha* in Kashmir about 788-840 A.D. during the reign of Vinayāditya Jaya, 779-813 A.D. Who is this? Is it another Abhinava S'aṁkara? Inscription Number 15 refers to 759 A.D. and 751 A.D. is given as the date of accession in inscription number 14. K. G. Shankara gives 248-278 A.D. as the date of Vṛṣadēva. (*Cf.QJMS*.Volume IX.p.122).

Is the reference to Dravida S'iṣu in *Soundarya Lahari* to Sambadhar or to, S'aṁkara himself? J. B. Fleet in his note on S'aṁkara (*Indian Antiquary*: Volume XVI. p. 41) does not accept 614 B.C. and says that the date may be 630-655 A.D. He mentions 3,889 *Kali yuga*, *i.e.* 788-89 A.D. and 820 A.D. for the dates of S'aṁkara's birth and death, respectively.

Again, S'aṁkara is said to have consecrated in the Sixth Century A.D. a king Trivikrima Cakravarti and A.D. 526 agrees with the date given in the Tamil chronicle.

There is a view that S'aṁkara is post-Buddhistic but pre-Christian and that his date is about 78 B.C. Is he Pracchana Buddha? Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar gives the Fourth Century A.D. as the date of S'aṁkara and Ferguson places S'aṁkara at the end of the Sixth Century A.D. According to K. T. Telang, if as mentioned in *Mādhavīya S'aṁkara Vijaya*, Bāṇa and Mayūra of the Seventh Century and Danḍin were contemporaries of S'aṁkara, he will be placed in the later half of the Sixth Century. But it may be noted that *Mādhavīya S'aṁkara Vijaya* following several *guruparamparas* gives 488 B.C. as the date of the birth of S'aṁkara.

Kēraḷōtpatti mentions that after a successful second attack of Caraman Perumāḷ against the foe, S'aṁkara was born. He wrote the history of Kēraḷa, made fresh improvements in the condition of the Brāhmaṇās, making stringent regulations for their protection. The period corresponds to 420 A.D. *Indian Antiquary*, Volume VII. p.282 refers to an extract from Kēraḷōtpatti giving the date 420 A.D. as the date of S'aṁkara's birth.

Beal in *JRAS*. (New Series) Volume XII. p. 355 says that during the Ch-en dynasty, which ruled from 557 to 583 A.D. in China, the *bhāsya* (commentary) of Gauḍapāda on *Sāṅkhya kārika* of Īs'vara Krishna was translated from Saṁskṛt to Chinese.

The date of S'aṁkara is 532-590 A.D. according to K.T. Telang (*Indian Antiquary*: Volume XII. p. 85) and 655-689 A.D. according to Dr. Chintamani (*Journal of Oriental Research*, Madras, Volume III). The *S'aṁkara Vijaya Vilāsa* by Cchidvilasa mentions a king of Kāñchī by name whom S'aṁkara is said to have met when he visited this famous centre of learning. If he be the Pallava monarch Rājasiṁha, the builder of the famous Kailāsanātha temple there, it would follow that the *S'aṁkara Maṭha* at Kāñchī was established in the later years of the Pallava rule in the second half of the Seventh Century.

S'asanka, king of Karṇāsuvarna, who endeavoured to destroy the Bodhi Tree at Buddha Gaya which Purṇavarma had successfully re-invigorated is mentioned by Hieun Tsang to have treacherously murdered Rājavardhana, the elder brother of Harṣavardhana S'ilāditya, about 605 A.D. Did S'aṁkara convert S'rī Harṣa the emperor? We do not know.

In the Mackenzie Collections referred to by Sewell in the List of Antiquities in Madras (*L.A.M.* p.149) it is said that according to a Tamil chronicle, the *Koṅgudēs'a Rajakkal*, S'aṁkara lived during the reign of the Cāḷukya king Vikramāditya I (A.D. 680-681).

If Pāṭaliputrā where Dēvadatta referred to in S'aṁkara's *Bhāsya* on *Vedānta Sūtras* (11-1-17) was, then he was not at Srughna on that date. And Pāṭaliputra was destroyed by a river innundation about the middle of the Eighth Century in 756 A.D. It is further said that a son of a barren (woman) was king before Pūrṇavarma. Pūrṇavarma was perhaps a real personage and a king. This name Pūrṇavarma is met with in two inscriptions coming from Java. (*Indian Antiquary*: Volume IV. pp.356-7). Was Pūrṇavarma then a Pallava? Hieun Tsang visited Magadha about 637-638 A.D. and it was in Magadha that Pūrṇavarma was a ruler and it was there that the Bodhi Tree grew. General Cunningham in the *Archaeological Survey of India* for 1871-72 placed

Pūrṇavarma about 590 A.D. and in the *Archaeological Survey of India* for 1879-80 about 630 A.D. S'aṁkara is said to have been a contemporary of and to have flourished in the reign of, the king Purṇavarama of Magadha. Pūrṇavarma was opposed to Buddhism and it is said that in his reign a Brāhmaṇa signalised himself by an act of very pronounced and unmistakable activity in support of a most important Buddhist institution there, *viz.* the celebrated Bodhi Tree of Buddha Gaya.

S'aṁkara mentioned a particular incident in the life of Pūrṇavarma, that is, his *abiṣēkha* or coronation. This Pūrṇavarma, referred to by Ḥieun Tsang as *Pu-la-na-fa-ma* was the last of the race of As'ōka and a king of Magadha and he and S'aṁkara are said to be contemporaries. We find a text in the *Vāyu Purāṇa.* "*tataḥ sasvatsaram pūrṇo halo rāja bhavisyatē.*" Is thisan other name for Hala, the eighteenth king of the Āndhrabhṛutya dynasty and the eighth dynasty ruling over Magadha? Were we to follow the *purāṇic* accounts and the periods over which the several dynasties ruled over Magadha, the total number of years that elapsed from the birth of Parīkṣit to the commencement of the reign of Hala will be 2,631 years and Hala reigned for twenty-five years according to the *Vāyu Purāṇa.* If so, his date will be from the years 2,631 to 2,656 from the Mahābhārata war. The age of *Kali* begins in the thirty-eighth year from the great factricidal conflict between the Kauravas and the Pāṇḍavas.

So, Hala is alleged to have lived from 2,593 to 2,618 years of the *Kali yuga* said to be contemporaneous to that of S'aṁkara.

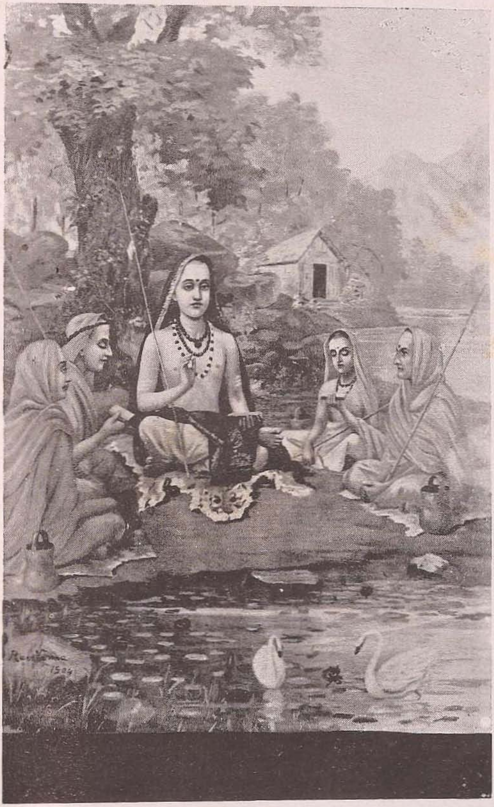
In the S'āntiparvan (chapter forty-six) it is mentioned that Bhīṣma departed from this world when the Sun had just entered on the winter solistice, *i.e. Māgha s'uddha 8,* when the Sun had just entered the meridian and the Moon was in the constellation *Rōhiṇi.* According to the Anus'āsanika parvan (chapter two-hundred and seventy-three) the Sun was in the constellation of *S'atabhis'ak* corresponding to the year 3,139 B.C. And according to *Gārgya Saṁhita,* when the Sun turns on his southward course without reaching *Āṣlēṣa,* immense trouble will have to be apprehended and Varāhamihira interprets *Āṣlēṣa* as the middle of *Āṣlēṣa* in the context.

The generally accepted date of the *samādhi* of S'aṁkara is *S'.S'.* 741, *i.e.* 820-821 A.D. at the age of thirty-two and in *Indian Antiquary*: VolumeIX pp.174-175, 3,839 Kali yuga, *S'.* 710 is given as the date of the birth of S'aṁkara and 3,921 of his *samādhi* (*Cf. Indian Antiquary*: Volume XVI.p.41). W. Logan in *Indian Antiquary* Volume XVI. p.160 puts S'aṁkara's death in the first quarter of the Ninth Century A.D. Kumārila criticises Bhartṛhari of 650 A.D. and Kumārila belongs to the first half of the Eighth Century. S'aṁkara is subsequent to Kumārila. If Balavarma be a contemporary of S'aṁkara, then according to D. R. Bhandarkar, Logan's date would become acceptable (*Indian Antiquary*: Volume XLI.1912.p.200).

S'aṁkara is said to be a contemporary of Bāṇa, Mayūra, Daṇḍin, Abhinavagupta and S'rī Harṣa. Is Hala the Āndhra-bhṛutya king who reigned from 69-74 A.D.? Bhartṛhari said to be the son of Candra is placed in the First Century A.D. Who is this Candra and what is his date? Does it follow from all these that S'rī S'aṁkara's date is earlier than is commonly supposed?

At the Oriental Conference held in Hyderabad in 1941 Sri D. S. Trivedi of Bhagalpur discussing the date and time of Gautama Buddha questions the generally accepted period of 543-489 B. C. to him on the ground that B.C.543 was the time of Vijayasimha's invasion of Ceylon and that Buddhism had long flourished before him. And according to *purāṇic* accounts Buddha was of the Ikṣāvāku dynasty and as mentioned in the Ceylonese chronicle he attained *nirvāṇa* in the eighth or the eighteenth year of the reign of Ajātasatru* of the S'iṣunāga dynasty which would indicate B.C. 1790 for Gautama Buddha. This would coincide with the period of the Mahābhārata war. For the commencement of the *Kali yuga* was in B.C. 3137, thirty-six years from the date of the battle of Kurukṣētra. Taking the fourteenth asterism *Citta* mentioned in the *Maṇimekhalai*, B.C. 1857 to 1776 would be the period of the Buddha. In the dynastic list of the lost kings of Kashmir (*Journal of Indian History*: Volume.XVIII.pp.49-68),

* Apparently different from Ajātasatru, son of Bimbasāra of Magadha, a historic personality and contemporary of Buddha.



Sri Samkaracarya and His disciples

the period just referred to coincides with that of the Buddha. The *Dīpavaṁṣa*, Ceylonese chronicle gives B.C. 521. Abul Fazal gives 1367 B. C. (1790-423). B. C. 550 for the Buddha is based on S'ālivāhana era.

IS SAMKARA LORD MAITREYA ?

It is said that S'rī S'aṁkara was the long expected Lord Maitrēya, that he was Buddha himself returning to the earth to fill up the gaps and rectify the errors that had crept round his own previous teachings. S'rī S'aṁkara, however, never said he was a Buddhist or that he was Lord Maitrēya and nobody else in his day said so. Nor did S'rī S'aṁkara display the 'ten perfections' of the Buddha from which Lord Maitrēya was to be discovered, known or identified. For an enlightened Buddha, possession of these 'ten perfections' was essential. On the other hand, S'rī S'aṁkara espoused the cause of the Vedas against the Buddhists, whom he regarded as *Vedabāhyas*. S'rī S'aṁkara considered the Vedas as the highest authority, none else being equal to it, while Buddha attacked and condemned the Vedas as chaff, without reality, worth or any essential truth in it. Further, Buddhists all over the world are waiting for the advent of Lord Maitrēya as foretold by the Buddha.

In the Encyclopaedia Britannica, 1911, the date C.789-820 is given as the generally accepted one for S'aṁkara who is said to have died at Kēdārnāth when he was thirty-two years of age. The aforesaid discussion is not enough to disturb that date.

SRI PILLEYLOKACARYA

By M.B.Narasimha Iyengar, M.Sc.

The material available for a life history of Pilleylokācārya are scanty. We may say that he was born at S'rīrangam in the month *Aippasi*, corresponding to October-November of the year 1213 A.D. when the Moon was in the constellation *S'ravaṇa*. His father was Vadakku Tiruvidi Pilley, the author of *Īdu* or *Muppāthārāyarappadi*, the well-known commentary on *Tiruvoimozhi* of Namma Āzhwār. He had a younger brother called Alagiya-Maṇavāḷa Perumāḷ Nāyanār who did not marry but became a *sannyāsi* and wrote the famous *Ācārya Hṛdayam* in Tamil.

Pilleylokācārya and his brother were first educated by their father Vadakku Tiruvidi Pilley and later they became the disciple of Periya Vāchān Pilley, the then spiritual head of the S'rīvaiṣṇavas at S'rīrangam. After Periya Vāchān Pilley's demise Pilleylokācārya succeeded him. Of his disciples the most important are Kurukulottama Dāsar, Maṇapākkattu Nambiyār, Kolli Kāval Dāsar Kodizilaṇṇar, Tiruvoimozhi Pilley and his parents and Vizhām Solai Pilley.

As regards Maṇapākkattu Nambiyār, a short story is current in the *guruparamparai*. He was a disciple of one Theva Perumāḷ. His *ācārya* taught him a portion of the secret doctrine of the S'rīvaiṣṇavas. Then he told him to go to S'rīrangam and learn the rest of it from Pilleylokācārya. At S'rīrangam Maṇapākkattu Nambiyār found to his surprise that what Pilley-lokācārya taught was the same as what was being expounded by his *ācārya*.

Before Mallik Kafur's sack of S'rīrangam in 1309 A.D. the Nāyanār had died and Pilleylokācārya along with others removed the *utsava mūrti* (procession image) of God Ranganātha to a place of safety to the village of Jothidemkuḍī where he died from fatigue in the month of *āvaṇi* corresponding to August-September of that year. He was succeeded in the *pīṭham* by Tiruvoimozhi Pilley.

Pilleylokācārya has written in Tamil, eighteen works called *Aṣṭādas'arahasyam*. The fundamental idea of the philosophy of Pilleylokācārya is that all *cit* (*i.e.* sentient beings) and *acit* (*i.e.* non-sentient beings) constitute the body of *Īs'vara* who is no other than Nārāyaṇa and separate entities but all the three entities are interwoven in such a way that one cannot be separated from the other.

The relationship of the body and the soul cannot be interpreted in its literal sense. In the world the soul is encased in a body containing hands and feet etc. But at death the soul carries with it the sense-organ and a body of subtle state. The gross body with all its paraphernalia is left behind. But such a conception is not possible in the case of the universe of matter and individual souls whose central guiding force is the Supreme Being. The universe may assume a gross or a subtle state. In any event the Lord will be the main controlling authority.

What then should be the conception of the Lord whose body is the universe of matter and individual souls? S'rī Rāmānuja says thus: (1) The universe is subservient to the Lord, (2) It is dependent on Him for its sustenance and (3) It is controlled by Him. This definition has to be taken as whole. Otherwise many inconsistencies do arise.

This definition of the body and the soul leads one to infer that the individual souls have no independent status in life. Even their actions are guided by the will of the Lord. Then it will be presumed that the Lord is being tainted with evil. Such a contingency does not arise here. The sūtras of Bādarāyaṇa (II-3-33, 40 and 41) clearly state that the Lord remains indifferent to man's first action. The subsequent actions follow in a sequence. He approves of them, if they are consistent with the plan of life laid by Him. He also tries to put the erring souls in the path. The individual souls must take their cue from the surrounding circumstances and try to lead a high and noble life.

The supreme aim of life is emancipation or the cessation of the soul's transmigrations. This emancipation of the soul is brought about by the recognition of the *s'areera-s'areerī bhāva* explained above. Such a recognition can be brought about only

by doing service (*i.e. kainkaryam*) unto the Lord. It is to the *arcavigrahas* that service (or *kainkaryam*) has to be done because all the auspicious qualities essential for the realisation of the *ātman* and the attainment of God are abundantly found in them. It is the *summum bonum* of life.

The *kainkaryam* could be performed in various ways. Some of them will be stated here, and they are (1) Offering of flowers, fruit or leaf to the Lord with devotion, (2) going round the temple in a clock-wise direction, (3) uttering the one thousand names of Nārāyaṇa every day, (4) uttering the Tamil *prabandams* such as, *Tirumozhi* etc. simply or in chorus or set to music, (5) attending the places where such *prabandams* are uttered, and (6) doing service unto the *bhaktas* (devotees). According to the *Upaniṣads*, the *Brahman* creates the universe of matter and the individual souls and enters it in the form of the *antaryāmi*. There has existed separately from the *Brahman* without beginning a multiplicity of individual souls. Before creation and also after deluge, these souls persist together with their deeds in a latent state as germs and the latter demand for atonement the repeated creation of the universe, that is the unfolding of the elements from the *Brahman*.

The creation is nothing but the fruits of the deeds imposed upon the *ātman*. The world is that which is enjoyed (*i.e. Bhōgya*); whereas the *ātman* is the enjoyer (*i.e. bhōktṛ*) and the doer (*i.e. Kartṛ*). The connecting link between the two is *Īs'vara*, who retributes action and suffering to the soul in the new birth, according to the deeds done in the previous births.

At the time of creation, the *prakṛti* (or primordial matter) is in a subtle state. It is called *mūla prakṛti*. From this *prakṛti* comes *mahān*. From *mahān* comes *ahaṁkāra*. From the *sātvika* form of *ahaṁkāra* comes the sense organs of hearing touch, form' taste and colour, and the five sense organs of action, namely, hands, feet, speech the limbs of generation and anus and also *manas* (*i.e.* mind). From the *bhūtādi* form of *ahaṁkāra* comes *Sabdatanmātra*. From *Sabdatanmātra* comes *sparsatanmātra* and *ākāṣa*. Then comes in an order *Rūpatanmātra*, wind, fire; *Rasatanmātra* water, *Gandhatanmātra* and earth. The

tanmātras are all the subtle states of the *bhūtās*. Thus this material world comes into existence.

In this creation the attributes of *satva*, *rajas* and *tamas* are found to exist side by side. *Satva* produces knowledge and pleasure etc. *Rajas* produces desire and thirst etc. *Tamas* produces sleep, laziness and ignorance. The individual souls enjoy the fruits of their *karma*.

In *nityavībhūti* or *s'uddha satva*, the *prakṛti* is not associated with the attributes of *rajas* and *tamas*. The Lord creates everything out of his free-will. It is not tainted by *karma* and is enjoyed by *muktās* and *nityas*.

Time is another form of *acit*. It is measured in terms of year, month, day, hour, minute and second. The attributes of *satva* is absent in it. It is regarded as eternal and it is the cause of the modifications of the material world.

The individual souls are many in numbers. They are distinct from each other. They are atomic in size. This could clearly be seen from the fact, namely, they remain in the heart and they either leave the body at death or enter the body at birth. They do not undergo any changes as in the case of the *prakṛti*. They are eternal and it is not possible to say when they were created. They are the seats of knowledge and they are not perceptible to the sense-organs. Of these, the *baddhas* are those who are born in the world and who have to reap the fruits of their *karmas*. The *muktas* are those, who are released from the bondage of *saṁsāra* and the *nityas* are those, who have not had at any time the taste of *saṁsāra*. They are all dependent upon Him for their substenance. They are controlled by Him and they are subservient to Him.

Knowledge occupies a peculiar role in the *Vis'iṣṭādvaita* philosophy. It is the attribute of the soul ; but it is at the same time a substance. The analogy of the lamp emanating light applies here. A lamp emanates light in all directions. The rays reach the particular object and make it perceptible to the naked eye. But the lamp remains at a distance. If the lamp is removed, the rays also disappear. In the same way, the knowledge that is associated with the soul spreads in all directions and apprehends

the objects ; but there will not be the knowledge, when the soul is absent.

The eternal guiding principle is *Īs'vara*. *Īs'vara* according to the S'rīvaiṣṇavas is S'rīmannārāyaṇa. He is the Supreme Being. He is possessed of all the auspicious qualities. Inauspicious qualities he has none. He is the creator, the sustainer and the destroyer of the universe. He extends to infinity in space. He grants *dharma*, *artha*, *kāma* and *mokṣa* to his devotees. His *bhaktas* are sure to get whatever they aspire for. The creation etc. are a few of his sport-like activities.

Īs'vara manifests himself in the five forms of *para*, *vyūha*, *vibhava*, *antaryāmin* and *arcavigraha*. Of these the *para* form is found only in the *Vaikunṭha*. There he sleeps on the serpent couch attended by his consorts *Bhūmi* and *Lakṣmī*. The *nityas* and the *muktas* enjoy Him.

His *vyūha* form is useful in the creation, sustenance and destruction of the world. His *Aniruddha* form creates the universe ; *Pradyumna* protects the world and *Saṁkarṣaṇa* absorbs the same. In these *vyūha* forms all the auspicious qualities manifest themselves. Saṁskarṣaṇa possesses *jñana* and *bala*. In Pradyumna we find *aisvarya* and *vīrya*. Aniruddha has the qualities of *s'akti* and *tējas*.

Nārāyaṇa is born as often as is necessary to put down the evil and proclaim the truth. In the *Bhagavad Gītā* S'rī Kṛṣṇa himself says this : "Oh, foe-foiling Arjuna, many of my births have passed away and (many) of yours also. I know them all. You do not know them" (IV-5). Again he says in another place thus : "For the protection of the good and the destruction of evil doers, for the firm establishment of righteousness, then, surely, do I create Myself in the world." (IV-8).) *Īs'vara* has been apprehended as an immanent God (or *Antaryāmi*). He has His abode within all the sentient and non-sentient beings.

The most important of His manifestations are the *arcavigrahas*. The perfection of every excellence is present in them. These *arcavigrahas* are easily accessible to one and all. All the other requisites, needful for the refuge-seeking, shine with the great brilliance, like a lamp lit in a dark room. Our *Ācārya*, himself

says thus: (1) His *antaryāmi* forms is like subterranean water, (2) His *para* form is like vapour distantly enveloping our spheres, (3) His *vyūha* form is like a distant ocean, (4) His *Vibhava* forms are like a river's occasional freshes, and (5) His *arcavigrahas* are like reservoirs in which river freshes are stored up for use at all times. It is this *arcavigraha* that dissolves the devotee's dislike for the subject of divinity and plants in them a taste for such a subject. He acts as an *upāya* (or means) for the realization of *mukti*. When a *bhakta* approaches Him with love and faith He grants the final boon to His *bhaktas*.

Laksmī is the consort of Nārāyaṇa. She is always associated with Him. Yet she is included among the individual souls. She is not regarded as an *upāya* for the realisation of the soul and the attainment of God. She is only a connecting link between the Lord and the individual souls. On the one hand she tries to put the erring soul on the right path. But on the other hand she tries to influence her consort, Nārāyaṇa towards the individual souls, so that the souls may attain *mukti*.

Various are the means for the attainment and realisation of the *ātman*. *Some of them are karmamārga, jñanamārga* and *bhaktimārga*. These paths are difficult of accomplishment; but there is only one simple means of salvation. It is the *prapattimārga* or the path of faith.

Prapatti is defined as *bhagavat pravṛtti virōdhī svapra vṛtti nivṛttiḥ*. It means that it enjoins every devotee to do his part of duty not inconsistent with God's plan and purpose in life. It can be resorted to by all classes of people irrespective of caste, creed or colour. S'rī Kṛṣṇa himself says thus: " By giving up all *dharmas* seek refuge in me. " (XVIII-66).

Dharma is a very comprehensive term. It includes in it all *karmas* such as *sandhyāvañdanams* etc. A *prapanna* can give up all *karmas*. He has to do *kainkarya* (or service). This is according to Pilleylokācārya the *summum bonum* of life. He has himself stated thus:

" For *prapatti* there is no limitation of (1) place, (2) time, (3) mode, (4) personal qualification or (5) fruit. Object limitation alone is what pertains to it.

" For works (1) Holy place, (2) Holy times such as spring etc, (3) Modes prescribed by law regarding each and (4) members of three castes—All these are fixed as requisites.

" Limit of place and time there is none to it.

" And it is to this *arcavigrahas*, that in numerous places, the Āzhwārs have made their refuge."

(*S'rī Vacana Bhūṣaṇa* : 29-32 and 45.)

The easy means of attaining God and realising the *ātman* is *ācārya niṣṭa*. One has to approach an *ācārya* for his final liberation. The service unto *ācārya* will lead a disciple to final salvation. S'atrugna did service unto his brother, Bharata a perfect *bhakta*. By his action he showed to the world what service is. Madura Kavi Āzhwār served his master Parāṅkus'a very well. He has composed in his honour eleven *pās'urams*, that go by the name of *Kanninum S'rathambu* in his honour.

At death, the sense-organs enter the *manas* : the *manas* then enters the *mukhya-prāṇa* ; the *mukhya-prāṇa* then enters the *ātman* ; the *ātman* then enters the *sūkṣma-śareera*. In the case of souls, that are destined to attain God, the *ātman* goes through the artery of the head, called *mūrdanya nādi*. They have realised already that the only person who could save them from the bondage of *saṁsāra* is the Lord himself. Then it passes out through the flames of the fire, the day the part of the month in which the moon waxes, the part of the year in which the days lengthen, the year, the sun, the moon and the lightning. These stations are not to be considered as sign-posts or places of enjoyment of the soul ; but as guides which it needs ; because it cannot use its own organs, which are in an enveloped condition. All these guides are divine beings. After the soul enters lightning, it is received by a man who is not like a living being and by him is escorted through *Varuṇalōka*, *Indralōka* and *Prajālōka* into *Vaikunṭha*. On the borders of *Vaikunṭha*, the river Viraja flows. This liberated soul takes a bath in this river. Then he gives up all attachment to the things worldly and assumes the form of the Lord Himself at the very touch of 'the man who is not like a living being.' Then 'he puts on the dress like Lord Himself

Then he enjoys the Lord Himself and does service or *Kainkarya* unto him. He can assume as many bodies as he likes.' All the qualities of the Lord manifest themselves in Him. Only difference between him and the Lord is that he cannot grant *mukti* to the erring souls or that he cannot create or absorb the universe.

THE MESSAGE OF JESUS *

By P. DEVASAHAYAM

THE subject on which I wish to speak to you is the Message of Jesus. The lecture is intended for those who know the fundamental points of Christianity. It is presumed that you all know the same. I shall first tell you who Jesus is. This you will find in Our Creed which says:

"I believe in one God, the Father Almighty, the Maker of Heaven and Earth and of all things visible and invisible. And in our Lord Jesus Christ, the only Begotten Son of God, begotten of his Father before all worlds, God of God, Light of Light, very God of very God, begotten not made, being of one substance with the Father by whom all things were made, who for men and for our salvation came down from Heaven and was incarnated by the Holy Ghost of the Virgin Mary, and was made Man, and was crucified also for us under Pontius Pilate. He suffered and was buried and on the third day he rose again according to the scriptures and ascended into Heaven and sitteth on the right hand of the Father. And he shall come again with glory to judge both the quick and the dead. Whose Kingdom shall have no end."

This describes the headlines of the religion of every Christian. Jesus Christ came into the World and He was born of the Virgin Mary under circumstances which have no parallel. "In the beginning was the word of God and the Word was with God and the word was God. The same was in the beginning with God. All things were made by him and without Him was not anything made that was made. In him was life and the life was the light of men. And the light shineth in darkness and the darkness comprehended it not... That was the true light which lighteth every man that cometh into the world. He came into His own......And the word was made flesh and dwelt amongst us and we beheld the glory of the only begotten of the Father full of grace and truth."

* Lecture delivered at The Mythic Society on 15th March 1955.

Why was Jesus Christ born as man is a question? The answer is a religious one. In His own Words 'For God so loved the World that he gave His only begotten Son that whosoever believeth in Him should not perish but have everlasting life.'

Thus Jesus Christ came into this World so that the World might be saved through Him. He came to this world to establish the following truths:—

(1) That Jesus is the true God
(2) That He forgives Sins
(3) That He knows Men's thoughts
(4) That He sends the Holy Ghost
(5) That creation, omnipotence and eternity are in His hands
(6) That Jesus suffered as a man
(7) That Jesus was without sin though tempted like other men
(8) That Jesus died for our sins
(9) That Jesus rose again the third day for our justification
(10) That Jesus ascended up into Heaven
(11) That Jesus now sitteth on the right hand of God
(12) That Jesus will come again to judge the world
(13) That All Power is given to Him as mediator
(14) That His life is to be our pattern

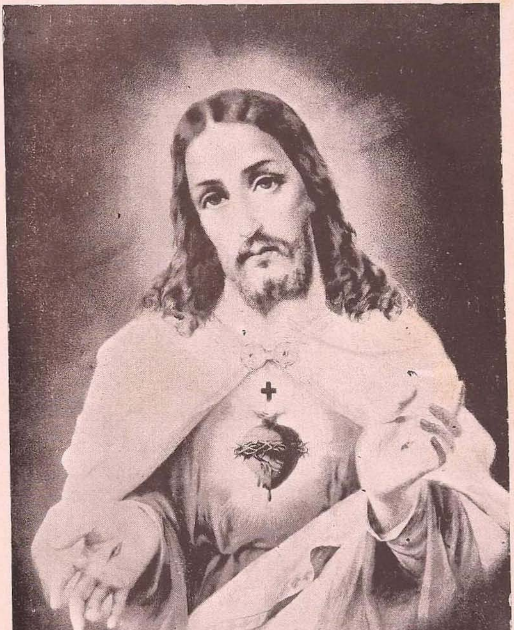
There is no doubt that he established the above mentioned truths. In so doing what is the message he brought is the question now. This may be divided into two parts. The first is the message given by God about Jesus and the second is the message brought by Jesus Himself.

What is the message that God gave about Jesus? The message that God gave about Jesus is that he is the Prince of Peace and that he will save mankind from sins. In common life when an event of great magnitude is to take place dignitaries send their messages. For example, when an important religious convention takes place messages are received from leaders and read in the assembly. Before Jesus Christ was born, the angel of the Lord appeared before Joseph and said 'Thou shalt call his name Jesus

for He shall save His people from their sins'. The angel Gabriel who appeared before Mary said 'He shall be great and shall be called the son of the Highest'and the Lord God shall give unto him the throne of His Father David and he shall reign over the house of Jacob for ever and of His Kingdom shall have no end.' When Jesus was born the angels sang 'Glory to God in the highest and on earth peace good-will toward men.' Thus the message given by God about Jesus was that he is the son of God, that he shall save his people from their sins, that he brought Glory to God, on earth peace and good-will toward men. In other words He is the Son of God and Prince of Peace.

What is the message that Jesus gave?—First and foremost Jesus' message was that he is the Good Shepherd and we are his flock. Jesus has said: "I am the good shepherd, the good shepherd giveth his life for the sheep. But he that is an hireling and not the shepherd whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming and leaveth the sheep and fleeth and the wolf catcheth them and scattereth the sheep. The hireling fleeth because he is an hireling and careth not for the sheep. I am the good shepherd and know my sheep and am known of mine. As the father knoweth me even so know I the Father and I lay down my life for the sheep. And other sheep I have, which are not of this fold them also I must bring. And they shall hear my voice and there shall be one fold and one shepherd. Therefore doth my Father love me because I lay down my life that I might take it again. No man taketh it from me but I lay it down of myself. I have power to lay it down and I have power to take it again. This commandment have I received of my Father."

Jesus Christ has frequently stated that he is the Shepherd and we are the flock. He has stated how lovingly he goes about in search of a lost soul and how he rejoiceth when a lost soul is saved in the following words: 'I am the good shepherd. For the Son of Man is come to save that which was lost'. To prove this he illustrates: 'How think ye if a man hath an hundred sheep and one of them be gone astray doth he not leave the ninety-nine and goeth into the mountains and seeketh that which is gone astray. And if so be that he find it verily I say unto you he rejoiceth more



JESUS CHRIST

of that sheep than of the ninety-nine which went not astray. Even so it is not will of your Father which is in Heaven that one of these little ones should perish.'

Secondly, I will classify Jesus Christ's message to mankind as God is Love and Love Thy Neighbour as Thyself. God so loved the world that he is not willing that any should perish. But he gave his only begotten Son as a ransom for us. Jesus taught us to address God as our Father which art in Heaven. All these show that God is love. What is love? St. Paul says that love "Beareth all things, believeth all things, hopeth all things and endureth all things." St. John says: 'There is no fear in love, but perfect love casteth out fear, because fear has torment. He that feareth is not made perfect in love. We love Him (God) because he first loved us. If a man says I love God and hateth his brother he is a liar for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen how can he love God whom he hath not seen." When Jesus tells us Love Thy Neighbour as Thyself this is the beginning of religion. You would like to know what Christ has shown us by his example. In the days of Jesus the lepers were all treated as unapproachable beings. But Jesus treated them as his own, touched them and healed them. On another occasion Jesus said "For I was hungry but you never fed me, I was thirsty but you never gave me drink, I was a stranger but you never entertained me, I was unclothed but you never clothed me. I was ill and in prison but you never looked after me." Then they asked "Lord when did we ever see you hungry or thirsty or a stranger or unclothed or ill or in prison and did not minister to you?" Then he answered them 'I tell you truly in so far as you did not do it to one of these even the least of them you did not do it to me.' Thus Jesus identifies himself with his poor and needy neighbours.

Jesus amplifies the message Love Thy Neighbour as Thyself one step further and says repay evil by good. 'Ye have heard it said an eye for any eye and a tooth for a tooth. But I say unto you that ye resist not evil but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek turn to him the other also. And if any man will sue thee at the law and take away thy coat let him have thy cloak also.' This is more deep than the message, Love Thy Neighbour. Jesus proved

this by his example. When he was railed and assaulted and spat upon not for any faults he committed but for his innocence still he bore it with patience and suffered all cruelties without a murmur.

Jesus amplifies the message 'Love Thy Neighbour as Thyself still further and says love your enemies. 'Ye have heard that it hath been said Thou shalt love thy neighbour and hate thine enemy. But I say unto you Love your enemies. Bless them that curse you, do good to them that hate you.' This is proved in Jesus' life by his example. When he was beaten and crucified Jesus prayed and said 'God forgive them for they know not what they do.' Thus Jesus blessed his enemies and asked for forgiveness for their sakes.

Thirdly, Jesus Christ's message to mankind is do not be care-worn about your worldly requirements but commit yourself into the hands of God for guidance and help. Jesus says " Take no thought of your life what ye shall eat or what ye shall drink nor yet for your body what ye shall put on. Behold the fowls of the air for they sow not neither do they reap nor gather into barns. Yet your Heavenly Father feedeth them. Are ye not better than they? Which of you by taking thought can add one cubit unto his stature? And why take ye thought for raiment? Consider the lilies of the field how they grow. They toil not nor do they sweat. And I say unto you that even Solomon in all his glory was not arrayed like one of these. Wherefore if God so clothed the grass of the field which today is and tomorrow is cast into the oven, shall he not much more clothe you. O Ye of little faith!" Thus Jesus has told us not to be careworn about the worldly requirements but to commit ourselves to God. Jesus when he was in this world set an example to us. When he was moving from place to place he did not carry with Him any food or clothing for the morrow. Whatever he wanted was under the guidance of the Divine Will of God. Even for feeding ten thousand he could get help from God. That is why he said if you have faith as much as a mustard if you ask the mountain to move it will move. We should learn to commit ourselves entirely to the hands of God.

The last message that Jesus gave to his disciples is 'Feed my sheep' that is be a shephered to the flock of all mankind. Go to all nations and preach the Gospel. It is this message which is

ringing in the hearts of all Christians. Be he rich or poor, be he an official or non-official, be he talenated or non-talented, this message of Jesus is directed to the heart of every Christian. If he does not respond to this call he is not fit to be a Christian. It may be that every single Christian has not the same facilities as others to the work of feeding the sheep. But to look after the sheep there are several ways and means. Some could look after the shearing, others could look after the feeding, still others could look after the working, and so on each continuing his help in his own way. It is to that extent necessary that every christian should contribute to the object of feeding the flock of all mankind to bring them into the true Christian fold.

It is in response to this message that we see illustrious sons of Jesus who have gone over all parts of the earth unmindful of peril and carried the light of the world with them. To India one of Christ's disciples came and died as a martyr in Madras. It was after him that St. Thomas Mount was named. We bow our heads in sacred memory to him.

I must now close. In closing I could say nothing better than repeat the Message that God gave about Jesus. God Almighty said that Jesus is the Prince of Peace. This Prince of Peace has given the peace which passeth all understanding to troubled hearts. Apart from whatever I can speak from personal experience I should mention about Sadhu Sundar Singh who was a world famous figure and whom I have met. He had a troubled heart when he was an youth of eighteen years. The book written about him will show the mental struggle he had. But the Prince of Peace took possession of his heart and he was given the peace which surpasses all other gifts that mankind could enjoy. I do not think that you have met him. But I have met him. The flocking crowds that came to see him pass in front of my eyes as a panorama. Every single person who saw him will say that he saw the very embodiment of peace. He never carried food or clothing for the morrow, though he travelled for days and days. His mission lay in carrying the Message of Jesus to the darkest parts of the world such as the most interior parts of Tibet etc. He withstood all tribulations with joy till he met his death from cruel hands but there is no

doubt that the Prince of Peace was in front of him at the hour of that glorious death. To all of us the same Prince of Peace says "Let not your hearts be troubled. Ye believe in God, believe also in me. In my Father's house there are many mansions. If it were not so I would have told you. I go to prepare a place for you and if I go and prepare a place for you I will come again and receive you into myself so that where I am, there ye may be also. And whither I go ye know and the way ye know. I am the way, the truth and life. No man cometh unto the Father but by me. If ye had known me you should have known the Father also and from henceforth ye know him and have seen Him. He that hath seen me hath seen the Father. I am in the Father and the Father in me. The words that I speak unto you I speak not of myself but the Father that dwelleth in me. He doeth the works. Believe me that I am in the Father and the Father in me. I will not leave you comfortless. I will come to you. Yet a little while and the world seeth me no more but ye see me. Because I live, ye shall live also.

" Peace I leave with you. My peace I leave with you not as the world giveth give I unto you. Let not your heart be troubled neither let it be afraid."

May the Lord's Peace which passeth all understanding guide you and lead you.

THE EPOCH OF GANDHI

By S. S.

FROM Prahlāda, Bali, S'rī Rāmacandra and Lord Kṛṣṇa to Buddha and As'ōka, S'rī Rāmkrishna Paramahaṁsa, Ramaṇa Maharṣi and Mahātma Gāndhi runs the rich vein of cultural heritage through the ages in India.

The triumph of *satyāgraha* in the movement for freedom from alien rule, foreign domination and imperialist hegemony, marks an era in Indian History, the Gāndhian Epoch. Its author Mohandas Karamchand Gāndhi, son of Karamchand Gāndhi, Prime Minister of Porbandar and of Rajkot, was born on the Second of October 1869 at Porbandar. He married Kasturba when he was thirteen. After graduating from the University of Bombay, he proceeded to England where he was called to the Bar and on coming back was enrolled as an Advocate in Bombay in 1891. In 1893, he went to South Africa to practice as a lawyer but it was not long before he discovered that as a man and as an Indian he had no rights. His career to fight for the freedom and the privileges of the underdog then commenced. He founded the Natal Indian Congress in 1894 and carried on agitation in India on behalf of the Indians in South Africa in 1895. In South Africa itself, Gāndhi was almost mobbed to death in the course of the struggle under the lead of the Attorney-General Escombe on landing there on his return but was fortunately saved by the heroism of the wife of the Superintendent of Police. Yet, he thought the British system was intrinsically a good one and gave it voluntary and hearty co-operation, without embarrassing it, whenever the existence of the empire was threatened. Thus, he led the Indian Ambulance Corps in South Africa in the Boer War of 1899-1901, his services being appreciated there as well as in England. Returning to India in 1901 to recoup his health, he attended the Session of the Indian National Congress at Calcutta. Later, he went again to South Africa to place the Indian case before Joseph Chamberlain. Similarly, he helped the Transvaal

Indian Association and founded the organ 'The Indian Opinion': and he established the Phoenix Settlement in 1904 under the influence of Ruskin and the experience of the conflict between capital and labour. He took active part in the Anti-plague work in Johannesburg in 1904; in the Zulu Revolt of 1906 he held the Stretcher Bearer Corps. His close association with and responsibility for the Anti-Asiatic Law agitation prepared the way for and led to the Passive Resistance Struggle. He was arrested, beaten and imprisoned. There was the Gāndhi-Smuts compromise. As a result, he was very nearly killed by his own followers under a belief of his betryal of Indian interests. Smuts repudiated the compromise, the struggle began again and Gāndhi was arrested and imprisoned. He wrote *Indian Home Rule* in 1908, visited England in 1909 and brought about the South African Settlement in 1911. The Passive Resistance Movement started in South Africa was a complete success by 1913.

During his next visit to England, Gāndhi raised an Ambulance Corps in London for service in the Grear War which had begun in 1914. He came to India to secure help for the Transvaal Indians in their agitation for humane treatment and a bare living. The labour trouble in Champaran and the agrarian movement in Khaira engrossed his attention and he was able to help in their satisfactory solution. When the war was at its height and central Europe a shamble, David Lloyd-George, Prime Minister of Great Britain and Ireland on the 2nd of April 1918 appealed to India to prevent the German menance and German tyranny from spreading to this country. India was bled white in men, money and material resources. War was won. Germany surrendered. There was peace. A change of heart in the British administrators of India did not follow. Instead, the Rowlatt Act was placed on the Statute Book. Protests, hartals and prayers were of no avail. There was wide spread discontent which was sought to be silenced by stern measures. The massacre of Amritsar, Dyerism, Civil disobedience, Non-co-operation, arrests and imprisonments galore — Chauri chara, Fasts, Boycott of the Prince of Wales, etc. etc. followed in quick succession.

Gāndhi having found there was no substance of Independence in the proposals for Reforms adumbrated, asserted that India had become less manly than ever before under British Rule—a rule which was evil to Indian interests—and proclaimed that non-violent non-co-operation with that evil was the only course of action left. With the failure to secure a reversal of the Turkish Peace terms in favour of the Khilafat, the Khilafat movements joined hands with the political and with the adoption by the Congress in 1920 of the resolution of non-violent non-co-operation with the Government, the Indian *satyāgraha* was ushered in. A month's notice was given on 30-6-1920 to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India, fixing 1st August 1920 as the date fixed for the commencement of the campaign. There were many unhappy and discordant members in the Congress but they lacked the courage to disagree with Gāndhi.

Thus *satyāgraha* made history and this was the beginning of of the epoch. From now on till the achievement of Indian Independence, on the 15th of August 1947, Indian politics is Mahātma Gāndhi. Through swarāj, Gāndhi sought to secure unity between all classes of the community, to link the villages, taluks and districts in a correlated and properly co-ordinated network of mutual help and endeavour, to help the poor by the production and propagation of *khaddar*, to purge the society of the social evils, especially drinking, litigiousness, untouchability and by well-directed effort to enthrone justice, truth and honour on the Indian Flag. Swarāj is India's birth-right and freedom must be secured through non-voilence in word, thought and deed, by the employment of means and methods, pure and unsullied.

This trumpet call for non-violence was made at a time when devastated Europe was groaning under the crushing weight of the aftermath of a grim four year struggle and was faced with misery and despair, without a ray of hope or light. At such a time, " the appearance of Gāndhi, this feeble and nude little man, who repudiated all violence, whose only arms were his own reason and love, and whose humble and stubborn gentleness had just achieved his first victories, secured a paradoxical defiance hurled in the face of the politics and the thought, traditional,

accepted and unquestioned, of the West. But, it was at the same time, a beam of health which shot through the despair." (Romain Rolland).

Evolution and revolution were necessary adjuncts in securing the happiness of mankind. Was not God himself, the greatest revolutionary the world had ever known, sending deluge, storm, earthquake, disease and the rest? Though a revolutionary, Gāndhi knew no diplomacy save that of truth, had no secret methods, no weapon but that of non-violence and any attempt to use him for violent purposes was bound to fail. This explains his calling off abruptly the non-violent struggle on many an occasion.

This non-violence, non-co-operation, *satyāgraha*, passive resistance is the only method of protest short of violence and disorder, open to persons without votes or representation. A farmer is never subdued by the sword and never will be. He does not know what it is and does not care to know it. And he does not worry when others use it. This silent weapon of *satyāgraha* is different from the sword. It is the weapon of the weak against the strong. 'It is the manifestation of an energy which is no less real than that which breaks through a dynamo and operates with notable effect.' The technique of non-violence therefore provides the only valid approach and link between all races and peoples.

It requires hard work and disciplined life to carry on such a struggle, firm resolve and a living faith in the justice of the cause taken up. To Gāndhi 'Truth was God and God was truth.' He said: "What I want to achieve, what I have been striving and pining to achieve these thirty years, is self-realisation, to see God face to face, to attain *mokṣa*. I live and move and have my being in pursuit of this goal." So, the movement of *satyāgraha* demands for its fulfilment a just cause, arising out of religious conviction, backed by a perfectly disciplined organisation, comprised of workers determined to continue the struggle, prepared to suffer without retaliation all the inevitable hardships which would result in the course of it. The Indian movement for freedom under the auspices of the Congress and with Gāndhi as its leader and the teeming millions in India ready to lay down their lives was assured of unfailing effect and success. In Mahātma Gāndhi's hands it was a

powerful weapon, the flower and fruit of non-vioient non-co-operation, for the solution of the pressing problems in the land. Today, beyond its practical value to India, *satyāgraha* coupled with non-violence carries a message to the world at large. The writings of Gāndhiji and the literature on Gāndhi embody in them a philosophy of life and a practical code of conduct from the experiences, the trials, the tribulations and the sufferings of the lifetime of a soul, ranking in history as one of the greatest men of the world for all time. Even a murderous machine needs a man to start and an order to be given and to wean free men from blindly submitting to beauracratic might and to foreign exploitation required one amongst them as ingenious as the inventors of diabolical engines of destruction and as dynamic as their leaders and that man was Gāndhi.

Long was the stuggle for freedom, mighty were the obstacles. Waverers were too many and quite a large number cool and calculating. The resources of a powerful empire, helped by a large, rich, influential number of our own people were opposing the movement. The woes of a subject nation were not few. To meet this, as in war, to be successful, there had to be a dictator, that was Gāndhi; an organisation, that was Congress; martial law, that was sternest discipline as laid down by the leader; the weapons, the items selected for peaceful civil disobedience; and the army, Indian masses who had joined under Gāndhi's banner. As long as the people chose to keep him as their leader and accepted his conditions they were safe: the sanction was of course their co-operation, good-will and acceptance.

In 1921, the Congress adopted the programme of non-violent non-co-operation, changed its constitution and became a body capable of action making a bid for mass membership. No longer a collection of intellectuals round a table holding debates, it soon became a powerful, disciplined, mass organisation attacking the citadels of the beauracracy and the foundations of all vested interests centred in British Rule. This non-violent form of passive resistance to what was considered to be wrong drew away men and women, boys and girls, from public institutions, and from schools and colleges, the professions, titles and official

recognition and patronage. It exerted considerable pressure on government. It increased the strength and stature of the people; it created a peaceful rebellion throughout the length and breadth of the country; and it was a very effective way of urging the masses to act and to function by good behaviour, so as to put the adversary ever in the wrong. Thus, this civilised form of warfare became dangerous to the stability of the country. The government which scoffed, despised and sometimes ignored it, could no longer do so: they had to take note of it which they did by severe repression The master-mind behind this powerful movement was the indomitable Gāndhi, a demon of energy and action, a rock of purpose and a lighthouse of truth. This mild Hindu without a dogma was like a magnet to his fellowmen who flocked to him in thousands willing to execute his commands and to suffer the perils that lay ahead. Wherever he was became a temple of his worshippers and his presence was like a powerful current of fresh air, like a beam of light in the dark, like a whirlwind in static India which he made fearless in the enterprise.

Mahātma Gāndhi worked for an India in which the poorest could feel that it was their country, in whose making they would have an effective voice, in which all communities could live in perfect harmony, in which the curse of untouchability, of intoxicating drinks and drugs would have no place and in which women would enjoy the same rights as men.

The civil disobedience movement put thousands into jail, Chauri-chara led to the first of a series of fasts by Gāndhi, his Arrest for sedition, Sentence and Imprisonment, Boycott of the Prince of Wales, Simon Commission and after, Bardoli-Rajkot-Salt *satyāgraha*-Dandi-march, Harijan award, Gāndhiji's fast and its reversal. Moves and countermoves, government pretending to ignore the movement at one time, trying to suppress it at another, reform and repression, were the watchwords of the period. The soul of India was beaten and sought to be crushed. The leading men, the intelligentia and the cream of the country were behind prison walls. One Round Table Conference led to another and in the Second Gāndhiji was the sole representative of the Congress in the interests of India and he stood out consistently for the substance of

independence and for everything in the interests of India. In the ups and downs, ebb and flow of politics, Gāndhiji was in the forefront, developing a new challenge to existing institutions which had destroyed village industry and increased the poverty in India through machine-made civilisation. The Government of India Act, 1935 was unsatisfactory and not accepted. There was, however, a parallel attempt countenanced by the Congress to attack the government from inside the legislatures, though Gāndhi was against it. In 1940-41 there were more than 30,000 leading men and women in the Indian jails. France had been beaten, all was dark and Pearl Harbour had drawn America into the Global War. Gāndhiji was prepared with India free to participate in the war then in progress, with little hope of success to the allied arms. In 1942 was passed the Quit India Resolution, prepared to defend India and to resist agression.

Righteousness exalts a nation and righteousness exalts also the people in it. Gāndhi's high thinking and plain living, his directness of approach to the problems of State, his identifying himself with all the details of living and his selfless life made an appeal to Indians of all classes and reached the hearts of the people. He spiritualised politics and put it on a moral and ethical basis. Calm of purpose, serene, unmoved, detached, doing his job unmindful of the result of his action, he was a saint with no room for hatred, his nationalism being wide enough to embrance mankind in general : verily, service to India was service to humanity at large.

Gāndhiji gave thirty years of his life for the struggle of non-violence in securing India a place in the comity of nations. In this eventful period, the history of India is the history of Gāndhi, his *satyāgraha* and his fasts, his wanderings and his appeasements and his non-violent wars. All, government and the people alike, watched and looked to him for his next step and there was nothing without Bāpuji in it. Janus-like he stood in the passage between subjection and freedom and made the India of today.

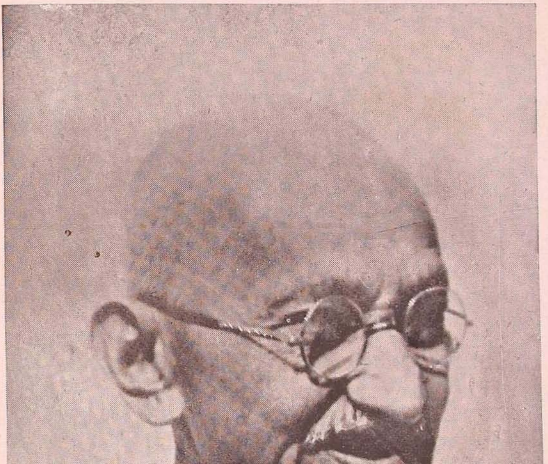
Mahātma Gāndhi was no visionary. He was a moralist and statesman of the mightest order, influencing, by his personal example, the thoughts, ideas, idealogy of the people, giving expression to them, shaping and moulding the people into a

disciplined organisation. His advocacy of non-violence has no barriers of place, time, or circumstance. His profound knowledge of his country and his people, his carefully thought out plans in a wide perspective for the evolution of a socialistic pattern of society find adequate expression in the directions of state policy in the Constitution of India and subsequent legislations.

Thousands and hundreds of thousands of his countrymen and numerous persons all over the world, belonging to different grades of life and varying stages of society regarded him as their intimate friend and adviser, who was compassionate to all living beings, who was the glory of truth ever bright and shining. For, his greatness lay in holy living. More than a politician, reformer, philosopher or moralist, he was a man of religion endowed with the highest and most human qualities—and he was even more loveable because of his consciousness of his own limitations and his unfailing sense of humour and transparent sincerity.

Before this colossus in Indian political life, others appeared pigmies. In this world of sordid ambition, blind hate, continuing violence and the atom bomb, Gāndhi was a challenge and a contrast, standing for peace and peaceful methods at all costs, for clean weapons and pure motives. His wants, needs and requirements did not extend beyond a loin cloth, a mud hut, a few ounces of goat's milk and the spinning wheel. He sought not power nor authority over men. With all, this alluding personality was an enigma, baffling analysis but still the symbol of India, the spirit of India, the accumulated experience of ages that lie behind us, the memory of a thousand lives that have gone before. He was a tribune of the people, a dictator elected by universal acclaim, the general of a non-violent army which knew no defeat and a personality who would continue to inspire the people for the ages to come. His unswering faith, matchless fidelity to the cause, his plea of tranquility and freedom for each individual, his self-confidence and unerring and psychological solutions to the day to day questions that arose invested him with a halo of glory and an unusual degree of authority and power. He liked not to be an interloper, a beggar or a slave in his own country. He wanted to develop the spiritual unity of the people by giving them the vital

FATHER OF THE NATION
MAHATMA GANDHI



" ईश्वर अल्ला तेरे नाम
सबको सन्मति दे भगवान "

—Mahatma Gandhi.

things of life, whence all the graces and ornaments of life would follow. He wanted art and literature that could speak to the millions. As George Slecombe said there was no man more utterly honest, more transparently sincere, less given to egotism, self-conscious pride, opportunism and ambition which are found in greater or less degree in all the other great political figures of the world.

This man of the keenest intellect, of fine feeling and good taste, the embodiment of universal and pervading truth, leader and dictator of the masses, humble and clear cut and hard as a diamond, pleasant and soft spoken but inflexible and terribly earnest, had eyes mild and deep, yet out of them blazed forth a fierce energy and determination, required for the struggle. The magic touch of the 'slave driver' roused the people from their slumber and prepared and disciplined them for action. By his irresistible charm and subtle power, humility and pride, he instilled in the millions courage and manhood, discipline and endurance, and the power of joyful sacrifice for a cause. Without courage there was neither morality nor religion nor could anything worth having be possessed or survive. Neither truth nor love can be pursued in its absence and cowardice was more hateful than even violence. Discipline was the first essential of success and with sacrifice and self-control would be formed a character in man which was more than intellectual training. Thus, Gāndhiji was the symbol of India determined to be free, of its militant nationalism, of its refusal to submit to arrogant might and of never agreeing to anything involving national dishonour.

In the history of humanity a man with a mission has always had to meet insuperable difficulties in the way. The great prophets and men of the world have always discarded sword and riches. Gautama Buddha left his kingdom to seek enlightenment. As'ōka relied on the law of piety to reach the hearts of men. Jesus had declined the sword but his followers took it up as soon as they got civil authority in his name. Muhammad began by preaching to spread his faith though the sword came in handy for quick propaganda. The Twentieth Century has shown that war enfeebles the victor and the vanquished, never makes for peace but leaves

more problems than it seeks to solve and leaves growing and fresh ones behind. War is a disease of society, never an instrument of policy.

Democracy and a democratic way of life demand discipline, tolerance and mutual regard. Freedom can exist only consistently with restraint and with a consideration and due regard for the freedom of others. Democracy is government by discussion in the full glare of public opinion. The lessons of the last war are still to be learnt and ten years after the armistice, peace is still afar. India on attaining freedom on the 15th August 1947 did not get into a bed of roses.

On the 13th December 1947 Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, Prime Minister, gave his vision of our future: "We aim at a strong, full and democratic India where every citizen has an equal place and full opportunity of growth and service, where present day inequalities in wealth and status have ceased to be, where our vital impulses are directed to creative and co-operative endeavour. In such an India, communalism, separatism, isolation, untouchability, bigotry and exploitation of man by man has no place, and while religion is free, it is not allowed to interfere with the political and economic aspects of a nation's life."

A month after this outline, Mahātma Gāndhi, the Father of the Nation, on the 30th of January 1948, at a prayer meeting at New Delhi, died, shot by an assassin, a martyr to the cause he served. The glory that was India departed from us, leaving millions in mourning. The light that went out illumined the country for over half a century and will continue to brighten our hopes and cheer our joys for aeons of time, giving solace to innumerable hearts, representing living truth, reminding us of the right path, drawing us away from error, taking our country forward to more and still more freedoms.

Gāndhiji died a martyr to the cause of Hindu-Moslem unity, one nearest to his heart. Even his death was a fitting climax to the life he lived. 'His step was right to the end, his smile infectious, his eyes full of laughter and he died at the top of his power, strength of body and mind.'

This is the age of Gāndhi, the Gāndhian Era, the epoch of

Gāndhi. His watchwords were; "Speak no evil: hear no evil: do no evil. Root out fear from your hearts and malice, put an end to violence and internecine conflict, keep your country free." The name of Mahātma Gāndhi stands for a liberated life, without fear, greed, covetousness or ambition. He seeks to serve all, with a pure heart and love. The moral influence of this great scientist in the realm of truth and *ahimsa* will continue for all time with thinking people throughout the world.

Mahātma Gāndhi was the chosen instrument of God to present India with non-violence to solve her many problems and he discharged his duty with no pretensions to infallibility, with simplicity, clarity of thought and ideas, ways and means, all worthy of the man and the cause he espoused. He realised that physical force affords no problems and raises no questions.

As Babu Rajendra Prasad, President of the Republic of India has said: "When all was dark, Mahātma Gāndhi showed us the the way out of misery and slavery, to realise our own strength through truth and non-violence. Man, after all, is not born with arms and weapons. He does not possess even the claws of the tiger or the horns of a wild buffalo. He is born with a soul and a spirit. Why should he depend upon these extraneous things for his protection and uplift? Death and destruction will await us if we depend upon them. Life and liberty are ours if we rouse the spirit within us and no power on earth can keep us under subjection."

This "hero of national history whose legendary memory will be enshrined in the millennial epoch...breathed into the people of India the proud consciousness of their unity, of their power and will to independence. He has inscribed his name among the sages and saints of humanity; and the radiance of his figure has penetrated into all the regions of the earth."

Mahātma Gāndhi raised Indian stature, espoused the cause of the depressed classes, uplifted liberty as the aim and non-violence as the method. He was a great political leader, guided by an inner voice, working without exploiting the greed, fear, vanity of the people and was the architect of our destiny. Under the inspiring guidance of his name and his example, the tesserated

Indian States which had been left to sift for themselves have been welded into an organic unity that is India, Bharat, and for the purpose of administrative convenience, cultural progress, economic, industrial and political self-sufficiency have been separated into several geographical divisions.

"Stand ye calm and resolute
Like a forest close and mute,
With folded arms and looks which are
Weapons of unvanquished fear.
"And if then the tyrants dare,
Let them ride among you there,
Slash, and stab and maim, and hew—
What they like, let them do.
"With folded arms and steady eyes,
And little fear, and less surprise,
Look upon them as they slay,
Till their rage has died away.
"Then they will return with shame
To the place from which they came,
And the blood thus shed will speak
In hot blushes on their cheek.
"Rise like lions after slumber
In unvanquishable number—
Shake your chains to earth, like dew
Which in sleep has fallen on you—
Ye are many, they are few."

Shelley—*Mask of Anarchy.*

ALL-INDIA CONFERENCE OF ANTHROPOLOGISTS AND SOCIOLOGISTS

Organised by the Social Sciences Association, Madras. Under the joint auspices of the University of Madras and the M. S. University of Baroda, from November 5th to 7th 1955.

MANY Professors and students from the various universities of India and scholars from abroad attended the Conference. Owing to the unavoidable absence of Professor Humayun Kabir, his inaugural address to the Conference was read by Professor Nirmal Kumar Bose of the Calcutta University. The importance of the study of Social Sciences at this moment when India is passing through many changes in its socio-economic and cultural life was the theme of Professor Kabir's address.

Dr. A. Aiyappan, President of the Social Sciences Association, welcomed the delegates and explained the purpose of this Conference as one to create interest in the study of the Social Sciences, and also to help one another in this scientific field to know what works are actually done.

Srimathi Irawati Karve, of the Deccan College, Poona, presided over the Conference, and delivered the presidential address which was profound.

On all the three days there were discussions on research papers which were read by those whose research projects are in progress.

Some of the leading papers were by Professor Redfield (Chicago), Professor Ehrenfels (Madras), Professor Srinivas (Baroda), and Professor Pandarinath Prabhu (Poona). There were also reports of work done by Professor Vidyarthi (Ranchi), Professor Sachidananda (Ranchi), Sriman A.M.Shah (Baroda), Sriman Y.U.S. Nath (Baroda) and Sri M. S. Gopalakrishnan (Madras).

Dr. Aiyappan led a discussion on the methods and problems of teaching anthropology and sociology in Indian Universities.

Some of the other interesting problems discussed were those of socio-cultural changes taking place in the lives of industrial workers and in villages, Westernisation and Sanskritisation as studied from an observation of castes, women's position in patri-matrilineal societies, and primitive and peasant societies.

A condolence resolution was passed by the Conference on the death of Professor A.R. Radcliffe-Brown, the reputed British Anthropologist.

The Conference ended with the very warm remarks of Dr. Aiyappan and Srimathi Karve.

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